THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 160 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MARCH 3, 1945 NUMBER 9

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Published weekly and copyright, 1945, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building.

The Shape of Things

WITH THE ATTACKS OF THE AMERICAN FIRST and Ninth armies across the Roer, the long-awaited western-front offensive has got off to a promising start. The necessary preliminaries to this action on the important central sector of the front were capably carried out on both flanks of the main thrust: to the north the Canadian First Army cleared the tip of the Rhine-Maas triangle, swinging into position to cut between the northern Siegfried Line and the Rhine, and in the south the American Third Army moved into Germany in the Eifel-Moselle region, clearing another triangle at the Saar-Moselle. These actions pinned down the Germans above and below the Cologne plain and threatened to roll the German flanks slowly back toward the vulnerable but well-defended center. The Germans are about through collecting dividends from their December offensive, but the dividends have been real; the disorganization of the Western Allies enabled them, at first, to shift to the east troops which helped halt the Russians on the Oder, and, second, to reorganize their consequently thinned defenses in the west before Eisenhower could mount this major offensive.

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IT WILL THUS BE HARD GOING BEFORE THE Anglo-American and Red armies can join hands on the North German plain. Allied aircraft are doing a massive job of isolating the battlefield in the west, making it difficult for the Germans either to reinforce or to withdraw; and it may be possible for Eisenhower to fulfil his stated intention of destroying the enemy west of the Rhine where he stands. This would make the Rhine crossing and break-through to the heart of Germany far simpler, but if the Germans run true to form they will fight a large-scale delaying action on the Cologne plain while pulling the bulk of their best troops back to the Rhine's east bank. In this case there will be a repetition of what has happened east of Berlin—another pause for regrouping, the gradual swinging up of the Allied battle line along the river, and a bitter fight to get across. The Russians have been occupied with the first part of this operation for the past two weeks, broadening their front along the Oder and mopping up in their rear before taking the last plunge toward Berlin. One milestone was passed last week with the reduction of Poznan, whose fall should ease Zhukov's supply problems considerably, but progress toward Berlin should probably not be expected until the Russian line runs roughly north and south from Stettin to Görlitz.

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THE INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE IN MEXICO entered its second week with the encouraging prospect of

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general agreement on several main issues. The need of an international organization that would ban aggression and use force to stop it was stressed by almost every delegate, showing how far the Latin American countries have moved from the days when the isolationist point of view, dominant in North America, found a loud echo in the rest of the hemisphere. Even when the Dumbarton Oaks plan was subjected to criticism, as in the speech of the able ambassador from Uruguay in Mexico, Mateo Marques Castro, it was with the purpose, not of limiting the share Latin America should have in the maintenance of peace, but of enlarging it. Uruguay asks that the charter of the new international organization should contain a general guaranty of the territorial integrity and political independence of all members. The same unanimous approval greeted the proposal, embodied in the opening speech of the Mexican Foreign Minister, Ezequiel Padilla, to deal courageously with "the Dantesque spectacle of men without homes, eaten away by tuberculosis, malaria, malnutrition, and silicosis," the perpetuation of which makes absolutely illusory any talk of safeguarding democracy and freedom in Latin America. It is time the problem of fighting totalitarianism should be attacked from that angle and that one government spokesman should utter the great truth that as long as the Latin American masses are condemned to live in their present poverty, the ground will be ready for Nazi agitators to carry out their work in the Western Hemisphere —even after they have been smashed in Germany.

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BUT AGREEMENT ON MAIN ISSUES SHOULD NOT be allowed to obscure the immense mistrust of the United States that still prevails and that found expression even during the first week of the conference. Although Secretary of State Stettinius won the sympathy of his audience by facing the problem of Nazi-fascist infiltration with greater frankness than the State Department usually employs and by stressing the need of giving Latin America a full part in the organization of peace, a great deal of resentment still surrounds the controversial question of Argentina. As we said editorially last week, very few delegates disagree with Washington on the pro-Nazi character of the Farrell-Perón regime. The Gestapo methods catalogued so precisely by John W. White on another page of this issue are well known in Latin America. What they object to is the fact that our diplomacy has handled Argentina's case as if it were under our exclusive jurisdiction, presenting the conference with what amounted to a *fait accompli*. It may be that our attitude toward fascist Spain has also contributed to the discomfort of certain delegations. Informally Washington has denied that the American delegation intervened to prevent the presentation of a resolution asking for a break with Franco. But some mysterious maneuver has undoubtedly taken place. Two delegations at least—Cuba and Guatemala—had decided to introduce such a motion; the Cuban resolution was already on paper and many people in Mexico had seen it. Has someone among our delegates, perhaps, been whispering to the Latin Americans that "the Franco regime was running into its last months" (we quote a New York *Times* dispatch) and that consequently it was not worth while to face the issue of breaking with Madrid?

IF FURTHER PROOF WERE NEEDED OF PRESIDENT Benes's political perception, it was provided by his farewell speech to the British in which he described the kind of government he intends to establish in Czechoslovakia. It will be composed exclusively of elements of the forces of resistance, who have carried the chief burden of the war. As soon as President Benes arrives in Czechoslovakia his Cabinet will resign and the ministries will be taken over by men chosen by those who have lived and fought within the country. The Czech government in exile, with leaders like Jan Masaryk, certainly cannot be reproached for appeasement of the fascists. On the whole it has represented better than any other exiled government a people fighting for freedom. Nevertheless, Dr. Benes realizes that the problem is not only one of ideas but of emotions; that people who have suffered German occupation are in a different spiritual state from those who have fought from abroad. He wants no antagonism to arise between the forces of resistance and the political leaders in exile. And so he is asking the people inside Czechoslovakia to take over the government at once. *The Nation* has known about this plan for many months, although we were not at liberty to refer to it. Obviously, the decision was not improvised at the last moment but is the result of mature thinking. But although this was an old idea of Dr. Benes, the experience of other European governments returned from exile gives added weight to the wisdom of his solution.

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THE LIQUIDATION OF FEUDALISM IN THE Balkans and in other areas liberated from the Nazis is a fact whose political and social implications can hardly be overestimated. In Poland, Rumania, and Hungary the great landed estates which for centuries formed the backbone of a class economy are rapidly being dissolved and the land distributed to the peasants. Up to now we have had no detailed information about what is happening in those East Prussian territories occupied by the Russians. But it is logical to assume that the Junker estates, those traditional breeding grounds for Prussian militarism, will also be demolished. In other words, an economic process which normally would have taken many decades has been rushed toward fulfilment by the pressure of events. Those who have thought that the old social order could somehow be rescued out of the general destruction of the war should watch this development with profound attention. Just how the feudal system will be liquidated is of secondary importance in comparison to the historic fact. Perhaps it will be necessary after the war to apply different regulations to the distribution of land from those now being put into effect. Perhaps the complicated problems inherent in any agrarian reform will demand the formulation of new economic solutions; in some countries it may lead to collectivization, in others to the creation of small farms. But no matter what the final pattern may be, the important thing to note at this moment is that a revolution is in progress which, in some countries at least, is wiping out in three months the social injustices of three centuries.

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MANPOWER LEGISLATION SEEMS TO GROW MORE tangled weekly. While the House has passed a work-or-fight

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law applying only to men between eighteen and forty-five, the Senate Military Affairs Committee has reported an entirely different kind of bill applying to all working men and women. The principles and many of the provisions of the latter measure have much to recommend them. The Senate bill would strengthen the powers of the War Manpower Commission to enforce employment ceilings and to move both men and women from non-essential to essential employment. The bill would give statutory power to labor-management committees, protect the seniority rights of workers in the jobs from which they are moved, and pay the transportation costs of displaced workers. It would also tighten up the War Manpower Commission's authority to conduct labor utilization surveys in both private plants and army-navy arsenals and shipyards, and also in the military services—where too many able-bodied young men are filling desk jobs. We dislike those provisions which would continue the privileged position of agricultural employers under the Tydings amendment and the extraordinarily harsh penalties (up to five years in jail and $10,000 fine) imposed on farm workers who leave their jobs. This provision and confusion as to whether the general penalties of the bill apply to employees as well as employers foreshadow quite a wrangle on the Senate floor.

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THE WAR LABOR BOARD'S ACTION IN REFUSING to adjust the Little Steel formula has provoked the expected violent opposition from both the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. Labor spokesmen point out that in many industries wages are below the danger level and that if overtime is eliminated after victory in Europe millions of families will be faced with destitution. Against this the WLB public members strongly uphold the view that any breach in the formula would endanger the entire stabilization program and thus imperil the living standards of all workers. While it is perfectly true that millions of workers still receive substandard wages, most of these are unorganized or weakly organized, and they are thus precluded from bringing their case before the WLB. The chief pressure for the revision of the Little Steel formula comes not from these groups but from the highly organized unions whose members have already won comparatively high wages. Relief for substandard wages, both in industry and among white-collar workers, can best be afforded, as the WLB points out, by amendment of the Wages and Hours Act to provide a higher minimum, a step that has already been proposed by Senator Pepper. Labor's argument that it will be left holding the bag after the war ends in Europe will not bear too close analysis. As the WLB points out, not only *weekly* wages but average *hourly* wages have risen more than the cost of living. Elimination of overtime may cause hardship but will not have the effect of reducing living standards below pre-war levels. Barring the enactment of a 60,000,000-job program, labor's overall prospects for the post-war period are indeed bleak. But labor leadership should be enlightened enough to recognize that the scuttling of the stabilization program will only intensify labor's hardships in the reconversion period.

COMING IN *THE NATION*
Who Are the Partisans? *by Milton Bracker*

The New International

THE voice of labor should be far more powerfully heard in the post-war settlements than it was last time, thanks to the birth in London last week of a new international trade-union organization. Technically, perhaps, one should say conception rather than birth, but the period of gestation promises to be less than the normal nine months, with delivery certain in September, when the World Trade Union Conference reconvenes in Paris. Meanwhile a continuations committee of forty-one with a smaller administrative committee will be working on a draft constitution and pressing the claims of the embryo organization to take part in the San Francisco conference and to be heard on all issues of war and peace.

The resolution embodying these steps toward the formation of a new organization means, in effect, the end of the International Federation of Trade Unions. Sir Walter Citrine, general secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, and a few European veterans hoped to save the federation by broadening its constitution so as to make eligible for membership the Russian unions and national movements like the C. I. O. which had been excluded under the rule "One country, one organization." But both the Russians and the C. I. O. favored a new start, and they were supported by the Confederation of Latin American Workers and the representatives of a number of European countries who criticized the inactivity of the I. F. T. U. during the war. It should, they considered, have rendered far more assistance to unions in countries overrun by Germany.

In the face of this opposition Citrine backed down but saved face with a reservation clause stating that the resolution was "in no way binding on the unions attending the conference, which have the right to accept or reject the constitution of the proposed body." It seems most improbable, however, that there will be many dissentients, and the next full meeting of the I. F. T. U. is likely to be devoted to its euthanasia.

This situation leaves the A. F. of L., the one notable hold-out from the world conference, in a completely isolated position. George Meany, its secretary-treasurer, has declared that the A. F. of L. will consider the new world group as "a rival organization" to the I. F. T. U., but it is difficult to see what rivalry there can be between the kind of vigorous youth the yet unnamed organization promises to be and a rather sad corpse. Quite obviously a movement which includes the Russian, British, French, and most of the European and Latin American unions, the C. I. O., and the growing trade unions of the colonial countries has a better chance of being accepted as the voice of labor internationally than a federation composed of the A. F. of L. and a few oddments. Realism should make the situation plain enough to the A. F. of L., but we fear that pride and obstinacy will keep it from taking the place held open for it in the new group.

One of the chief objectives of the new international labor organization is to claim a share "in determining all questions of the peace and post-war settlements." "Organized labor, with so great a part in winning the war," a manifesto approved by the London conference declared, "can-

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not leave to others . . . the sole responsibility for making the peace." In line with this a request was made for effective trade-union representation in the assembly of the proposed world peace organization, and the association of the movement with the social and economic council envisaged in the Dumbarton Oaks plan. The conference also made a very specific demand for consultation on the question of the future of Germany. It wants the occupying authorities to listen to trade-union advice in regard to the payment of reparations in kind and to the rebuilding of a democratic German trade-union movement. In particular, in the event of direct use of German labor in making good the devastation wrought during the war, the conference called for international supervision with trade-union participation. This is of the utmost importance if such labor is not to degenerate into slave labor, undermining the standards of workers everywhere. Here is one example of the many post-war tasks which a fully united and inclusive world organization of trade unionists can undertake.

American Supplies and Chinese Politics

MANY fundamental changes have taken place in the Chinese situation since the furor over the recall of General Joseph Stilwell last fall. For the most part these changes have been favorable. Hundreds of new trucks and thousands of tons of badly needed war supplies are rolling into China over the newly opened Burma-Ledo road. The reorganization of the Chinese army under General Chen Cheng has involved not only plans for expanding the army by five hundred thousand men but the establishment of six specialized training schools where American officers are busily engaged in training tens of thousands of Chinese troops in modern military methods and doctrines. The food supply for the army has been improved; pay has been raised; and discipline has been tightened. On the economic front there are reports that the new Chinese War Production Board established by Donald Nelson has been successful in bringing about some increase in war output. Even on the military front an improvement has been reported, although most of the Chinese "victories" appear to have been the result of Japanese withdrawals.

But the American public should be on guard against shifting from over-pessimism to over-optimism. Although relations between American and Chinese officials are much happier than they were a few months ago, the underlying causes of conflict have not been removed altogether. General Wedemeyer has been permitted to attend meetings of the Chinese general staff—a privilege not granted to Stilwell—but Chiang Kai-shek has never put into effect his promise that the American general should be in command of all Chinese forces under the Generalissimo. Although the removal of Ho Ying-chin as War Minister was generally interpreted as an indication that Chungking was determined to speed up its participation in the war, his retention as Chief of Staff and his recent appearance as commander of the ground forces that are supposed to support an American landing on the China coast are most disquieting. Ho Ying-chin is the leading proponent of the idea that China's interest would best be served by sitting back and letting its allies win the war against Japan.

Moreover, the chances of a military or a political agreement between Chungking and the partisans of the Northwest seem more remote than ever. The failure of the recent Kuomintang-Communist negotiations was a serious setback to Ambassador Hurley. At first it looked as if Hurley might be able to achieve a settlement where Nelson and Stilwell had tried and failed. Hurley was personally liked by Chiang Kai-shek and spent many week-ends with him. He was also initially popular with the Communists, but his popularity is said to have waned when it became evident that he was seeking to bring pressure on them.

The collapse of Kuomintang-Communist negotiations at a time when American assistance can be greatly stepped up as a result of an opening of the Stilwell Road raises a serious problem with respect to American policy. As long as our assistance was limited to what could be transported over the hump by air, the effect of our assistance on the Chinese internal situation was of minor importance. General Stilwell appears to have followed the general policy of earmarking supplies for the troops that were actually engaged in fighting the Japanese. Very little in the way of assistance reached the Communists, but this might be ascribed as much to geography as to politics. Today, however, the flow of supplies is much greater; it will be greater still as soon as we seize a port on the China coast.

Unless present policy is changed, most of these supplies will continue to go to the Chungking armies which are now being retrained under American officers. Many of these officers—particularly those who have been to Yenan on official business—are convinced that the partisans, if properly armed, would prove useful allies against the Japanese. They would of course have to be brought into a coordinated military effort and almost certainly under American top command.

Now, the sole military concern of the United States in China is to mobilize the maximum military strength against the Japanese. Our war supplies must be directed to building up this maximum military strength. They must not be permitted to play a part on one side or the other in the smoldering civil war. We cannot think that with the present extent of American military direction in Chungking any of the supplies now going over the Ledo Road are being permitted to be used against the Yenan forces. If they are—which to us would seem incredible—the way to correct such negligence would hardly be to send equal supplies to Yenan. We are not a party to civil war in China; we are engaged in war to the death with Japan. It is the critical point reached in that war which makes a working measure of political and military unity in China imperative. Without such unity the maximum force cannot be directed against Japan. War supplies to China can no longer be calculated or divided in terms of the needs of Chungking or the needs of Yenan but only in terms of the total plans of the Allies for victory in the Far East.

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Memo for Congress

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

IT IS never a bad idea to listen to the other fellow's point of view, and Congress, in considering the Bretton Woods proposals, might profitably give heed to British as well as American criticisms. In this country there is a general notion that the international monetary plan approved by forty-four nations last summer is, underneath all its technicalities, just another semi-charitable scheme for helping bankrupt foreigners out of their difficulties. Orthodox bankers and economists, together with opponents of any kind of planning, national or international, charge that the proposed international monetary fund violates all the principles of sound finance. It will, they say, permit other nations to borrow good dollars, giving no other security than their own probably worthless currency. This affords a cue to our nationalists, who are always anxious to scream that Uncle Sam is being made a sucker.

Britain has its economic nationalists, too, but they are quite sure that it was John Bull who was taken for a ride at Bretton Woods. To their way of thinking the final plan represented almost a complete victory for the United States and was so contrived as to reinforce America's domination of world trade. This view draws intellectual support from a number of Britain's advocates of planning and some of its leading economists. Bretton Woods, they assert, threatens to envelop Britain once again in a strait-jacket of gold and to deprive it of freedom of action in planning for full employment and the vital restoration of its foreign trade.

Criticisms of this kind are not confined to British radicals. They may be heard from the members of all political parties, and they are to be found, in modified form at least, in the respectable editorial columns of the London *Times*, the *Financial News*, and the *Economist*. When I was in London last fall, I was told on good authority that Mr. Morgenthau had asked the British government to seek quick ratification from Parliament of the Bretton Woods agreement with the idea that such action might encourage Congress to follow suit. Preliminary soundings, however, revealed such extensive opposition that the Cabinet decided not to risk a debate at that time.

To appreciate the point of view that inspires this opposition one must realize that, for the British, the main issue is, in the words of the *Economist*, "whether, in the post-war world, any universal, multilateral, stable-exchange-system currency system will be possible or desirable." For Americans, both supporters and opponents of Bretton Woods, there is no issue here at all; such a system is the only one which promises the kind of trade expansion they are hoping for. But many Britons with whom I discussed the question, while agreeing that freely convertible currencies and multilateral international trade represented the ideal, hastened to add that they were not prepared to sacrifice full employment to attain it. Unless, therefore, the United States was willing to join Britain in adopting positive plans to insure full employment, they felt that the disadvantages of Bretton Woods outweighed its advantages, for free exchanges were the swiftest carriers of the germs of depression.

Perhaps because so much of their information about American opinion is derived from cabled extracts from a handful of metropolitan newspapers, Britons are overawed by the strength of "free enterprise" in this country. They expect it will resist successfully all efforts to inaugurate a planned economy after the war and that, as a result, a period of booming business with some degree of inflation will be followed fairly rapidly by a slump worse than that of 1929. In an effort to put off this evil day, it is anticipated that, instead of seeking to expand consumption at home, America will attempt to market its surplus production abroad, thereby, in the popular British phrase, "exporting unemployment." Unless prompt measures are taken to increase American imports to an equal extent, the upshot will be savage competition with countries like Britain—which, as I have recently explained in *The Nation*, must export to live—and a renewal of the drain of the world's gold into the vaults of Fort Knox.

British economists who argue on these lines are not particularly impressed by suggestions that the United States may reduce its tariff after the war and so make it easier for other countries to sell their goods here, earning dollars with which to pay for American exports. The tariff, they suggest, is no longer a major impediment. American imports are made up mainly of raw materials and luxury goods, both of which are extremely sensitive to changes in the national income. If national income is maintained at a high level, there will be a large demand for imported commodities, tariff or no tariff; if it is allowed to slump, as it did in the early thirties, almost the first shock will be felt by America's foreign suppliers.

Believing that the United States will not even attempt to smooth out its trade cycle and stabilize employment at a high level, one vocal and influential school of thought in Britain urges a policy of insulation. Its starting point is the fact that under peace-time conditions Britain is the world's greatest market. The prosperity of a large part of the Empire and of a considerable number of foreign countries is irrevocably tied to Britain's purchasing power. But that in turn is dependent on Britain's ability to sell its goods in much greater volume than before the war. Therefore, it is argued, instead of depending on the vagaries of multilateral trade, which under present circumstances might mean that Britain did most of the buying on the world market while America did most of the selling, Britain should turn to bilateral trade agreements. This would enable Britain's buying power to be used as leverage in promoting the sale of its exports. An extension of this idea is the transformation of "the sterling area," which has existed as a war-time expedient, into a permanent international club. Its members would trade among themselves on multilateral lines, keeping their accounts in British pounds, but would agree not to use foreign exchange acquired inside the area for dealings with those outside.

Obviously such a plan as this is totally incompatible with Bretton Woods; equally obviously it would be considered a declaration of economic war by those countries left outside the charmed circle. The British government is well aware of this fact, and one of its chief economic advisers snorted bitterly to me about "the bilateral boys who proceed on the calm assumption that Britain by clever bargaining would

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be able to get away with negotiation of a series of barter agreements without provoking unfavorable reactions and counter-measures."

The official government policy is to stand by its pledges under the Atlantic Charter and the Mutual Aid Agreement to work for the elimination of all trade and exchange barriers. If Congress passes the Bretton Woods legislation, it is almost certain that the agreements for the international monetary fund and the international bank will be presented to Parliament with the Cabinet's "Must" stamp on it. But if Congress listens to the American bankers and either rejects Bretton Woods altogether or amends the plan in conformity with the recommendations of the American Bankers Association, then Britain might move toward the bilateral solution. For this action would be taken as a sign that the United States was not going to cooperate in reconstruction and the rebuilding of world trade unless other nations adjusted their internal economies to conform with Wall Street notions of sound finance. This would give the British opponents of Bretton Woods their chance. As one of them, Dr. R. P. Schwarz, wrote in the *Fortnightly* of October, 1944, "It appears that American opinion in influential quarters, still dominated by the sucker complex, is again in fear of being duped. As things are, it is desirable that it continue under this delusion. If it led to a rejection of the agreement by Congress, such a move would save the debtor countries from the undeserved reproach of ungratefulness which otherwise would certainly be voiced. By such action Congress, if for the wrong reasons, would at least do the right thing."

The Army and the "Reds"

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, February 25

THE Congressional rumpus over the army order lifting the bars against Communists will reverberate unpleasantly abroad. For some time it has been suspected, from the dog-house treatment accorded certain volunteers and draftees, that the army was discriminating against soldiers suspected of being Communists. The picture was a mixed one, and seemed to depend in part on commanding officers. Some persons close to or actually members of the Communist Party were given important military assignments for which they were well fitted by past experience. In other cases persons suspected of being Communists were left behind when their units were sent abroad. There were no leaks that I know of which made available to the liberal or left press instructions to keep suspected Communists from commissions or active service in foreign fields. That there were such instructions is now made clear by the leak to the Chicago *Tribune* and the Washington *Times-Herald* of new instructions providing for a more liberal policy toward Communists. For these new instructions the War Department deserves public support and applause. Major General James A. Ulio, adjutant general of the army, explained in a letter to Congressman Dondero that in liberalizing the old instructions "consideration was given to the fact that persons in the army suspected but not proved to be Communists had not proved to be a source of any difficulty and were loyally supporting the war effort." As much cannot be said for the newspapers which "exposed" the new army policy. It will seem depressingly significant abroad that the section of the American press which has championed the seditionists and time after time paralleled the Goebbels line should have enough political power to create trouble for the new army policy in Congress.

I do not wish to imply that Chairman May of the House Military Affairs Committee, who has ordered an investigation, is in the Chicago *Tribune* class. But it will not escape notice that the Congressional committee chairman aroused by the prospect of fair and equal army treatment for Communists, whom he considers subversive, is the same May of Kentucky who made trouble over the circulation among the armed forces of the pamphlet on the races of mankind. This pamphlet taught the American doctrine of equality in contradistinction to the Nazi philosophy of superior and inferior races. The loudest protest in Congress over the new army policy was from the member who has come closest to following the Nazi line—the unspeakable Shafer of Michigan. Characteristically, nowhere in the discussion of this affair has any inquiry been made about army policy toward Bundists, fascists, Christian Fronters, Silver Shirters, or members of other anti-Semitic, pro-Axis termite organizations. The army seems to have been solely concerned with a political party linked emotionally and ideologically with one of our allies and not at all concerned with groups linked emotionally and ideologically with our enemies. That doesn't make sense.

In the army's defense it may be argued that its action was determined by the Hatch act, which forbids the employment by the government of persons who advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence. If so, that is additional evidence of the complete inadequacy of the "force-and-violence" formula to deal with the genuinely subversive movements of our time, movements which will be stimulated after the war by the Nazi underground. (I am convinced there will be one.) As a matter of fact, despite Attorney General Biddle's ruling of May 22, 1942, in the Bridges case, the Communist Party neither advocates today nor has for a good many years advocated the overthrow of the government by force and violence. The courts have never ruled that it comes under the Hatch act, and prosecuting authorities would be hard put to prove that it does. Those portions of the act were designed to provide a political weapon against leftists of various shades, including New Dealers, and they were so designed by rightist sources which include some elements in sympathy with Nazism and fascism. Political provisions of the Hatch act thus reflect the covert anti-

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democratic forces on whose aid and sympathy the Axis long relied. The sooner we get rid of those provisions the better. They are a potential fascist weapon for the post-war period.

As the Hatch act is interpreted by the rightists in this current dispute, it would logically require exemption of Communists from military service. The army, under its earlier orders, had merely barred Communists from commissions and from certain confidential posts. But the Hatch act speaks of employment by government. If army service is employment within the meaning of the act, a buck private is as much an employee as a captain. Would the rightists exempt Communists from military service? And how far would they extend the term? Some of the difficulties are made clear by the confidential letter sent officers on January 31 last outlining procedure for "the disposition of subversive and disaffected military personnel." "No action," the War Department instructions say, "will be taken that is predicated on membership in or adherence to the doctrines of the Communist Party unless there is a specific finding that the individual has a loyalty to the Communist Party as an organization which overrides his loyalty to the United States." "No such finding should be based," the instructions continue, "on the mere fact that the individual's views on various social questions have been the same as the views which the Communist Party has advanced." I know of some bitterly anti-Communist liberals who have suffered in the army from the application of just such loose standards.

In the army, as in civilian life and government employment, to discriminate against persons because of their political views—unless those views are an enemy's in war time—is to embark on a course which must ultimately undermine free government. Anti-Communist leftists who think they can use this weapon against their hated political opponents and get away with it are badly mistaken. The right will set the standards, and the standards will be broad enough to encompass leftists of many varieties. In the immediate context, discrimination against Communists in the army is particularly idiotic. Everywhere in the world, underground and in the armed forces, Communists have distinguished themselves by their zeal. Even a man like Rankin of Mississippi seems to recognize the logical difficulty involved in treating Communist soldiers as "subversive and disaffected"; his own remarks as extended in last Monday's *Congressional Record* would make it appear that he is concerned solely with "Trotskyite Communists." "Remember," Rankin said in attacking the new army instructions, "that while they were plotting the overthrow of this government, they were also plotting to get rid of Stalin and put Trotsky in his place." It is unnecessary to add that the Chicago *Tribune* is not worried about Trotskyites. Rankin merely added the final imbecilic flourish to this affair.

Suppose, is the question put by Shafer, we were fighting the Soviet Union? People of Shafer's ilk find it hard to recall that we are not fighting the Soviet Union but, despite their best efforts, the Axis. The war of their dreams is a war against the Soviet Union. And they do what they can to hurt American relations with the U. S. S. R. The committee appointed by Chairman May to investigate the army's new orders—the careful reader will note that they are still somewhat ambiguous—can do a great deal to poison Soviet-American friendship. I hope that friends of Allied unity in the House will fight the committee if it tries. Discrimination against soldiers thought to be Communists will create a sour impression in more places than Moscow. There is China, where we are trying to bring about cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communists. And there are the liberated countries, where men of various political shades have fought side by side with Communists against the Nazis. An ugly outburst in Congress on this issue, from sources tainted by Hitler-like ideologies, would not increase popular confidence abroad in America's dependability as a bulwark against fascism.

This Is the Face of War

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

ON WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY Staff Sergeant David Dempsey, a Marine Corps combat correspondent, cabled from Iwo Jima:

"The invasion beach of this island . . . is a scene of indescribable wreckage—all of it American. For two miles extending north from Mt. Suribachi at the southern tip of the island is a thick layer of debris. Wrecked hulls of scores of boats testify to the price we paid to get our troops ashore on this vital island. . . . Japanese artillery, rockets, and heavy mortars . . . had been aimed at the beach long before we landed. They couldn't miss and they didn't. Volcanic sand on this beach is so soft that many of our vehicles were mired down before they had gone ten feet. . . . One can see amphibian tractors turned upside down like pancakes on a griddle, derricks brought ashore to unload cargo are tilted at insane angles where shells blasted them, anti-tank guns were smashed before they had a chance to fire a shot. Even some bulldozers landed too early to clear a path for following vehicles. Artillery could not be landed for twenty-four hours.

"Packs, clothing, gas masks, and toilet articles, many of them ripped by shrapnel, are scattered across the sand for miles. Rifles are blown in half. Letters are strewn among the debris.

"Scattered amid the wreckage is death. . . .

"The boys who did it, as the saying goes, deserve a medal, but a lot of them won't be around when the medals are passed out."

This is the face of war. What Sergeant Dempsey could not tell in his dispatch was how the men of the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Marine divisions felt: the landing barges blown

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up in the water and the quick panicky plunge into the sea with equipment pulling your body under; the deadly mortar fire on the beach pressing your face, belly, thighs, and toes into the sand; the short dashes through the volcanic ash with the nearby objective seeming to recede and the Japs shooting everything off at you personally; the men on right and left being hit in quick succession, not by small-arms fire, which makes neat, clean holes, but by shell fragments and rocket blast, which tear the flesh deeply and cause profound shock, demanding immediate first aid, morphine, and plasma; the medical sections being wiped out on the beach before they can reach these wounded; the empty, outraged feeling of being pinned down by the heaviest and most accurate kind of fire after the air forces have bombed the damned little island for seventy-two days and the navy has poured 8,000 tons of ammunition into it, only to have the Japs crawl right out of their caves—Saipan all over again—and shoot at you. Then the cross-fire from Mt. Suribachi to the south and the second fighter strip on the plateau to the north, with no Japs surrendering and every cave to be dynamited—if you can get there before the fire from above cuts you down; the fitful sleep in the crater beside a dead man, equally dead whether friend or foe; the terrible confusion of the counter-attack at night, with the Japs getting behind you and on both sides of you and the American and Japanese fire mixed up together—this is called infiltration; and then going on, uphill, in the early morning, with your feet lead-heavy and your head turned to wood, the bowel-loosening fear gone, replaced by fatigue and the cold, skilful rage of a man still alive after twenty-four hours of it, and therefore a combat veteran.

The Marines sustained 5,372 casualties on Iwo from Monday morning up to Wednesday evening. Most of these were probably in the veteran Fourth and the predominantly green Fifth Division, since the Third Division was held in reserve and did not land until Wednesday morning. This compares with 2,950 casualties on Tarawa, but there was only one division on Tarawa, so the percentage in casualties has probably been somewhat lower on Iwo: perhaps 15 per cent in the two assault divisions. Figuring casualty percentages on a divisional basis, however, presents a false picture, since even in a combat division only about half the men can be classified as assault troops; the others are in supporting arms (mortars, artillery, anti-aircraft) or are non-combatants (orderlies, staff, signals, cooks, drivers). On Iwo the "non-combatants" will have plenty of casualties, but the bulk of the 5,372 are probably from the 15,000 or so troops who composed the rifle battalions of the first two divisions ashore. One man of three, then, who started for Iwo did not get off the island under his own power.

Of the approximately 20,000 Japanese left to guard this key to the home islands, on the other hand, perhaps only one man in a hundred will leave under his own power. Two hundred Japanese prisoners out of 20,000 would be better than average. There is no use denying that the Japanese die well; but we can feel that theirs is the rat's death, defiant in a corner until all fails and then suicide, while the Marine's is a proud man's death, in the open, advancing, for such simple, noble, and old-fashioned reasons as love of comrades and of corps or ambition to set the flag atop bloody Suribachi. It is the best way to die.

"A man can die but once; we owe God a death . . . and let it go which way it will, he that dies this year is quit for the next."

There was also death in Manila last week—8,246 American and 24,000 Japanese casualties in the week ending Wednesday. The last pocket of enemy resistance in Intramuros was reported wiped out Saturday; General MacArthur announced in his communiqué, "This operation, following the catastrophic defeat in Leyte, dooms General Yamashita's Philippine campaign and presages the early clearance of the entire archipelago."

In reading this statement it is proper to recall that the 8,246 American casualties occurred after the General announced the liberation of Manila, twenty-one days before he subsequently announced the "destruction of the trapped garrison" of Intramuros. I don't like to run down General MacArthur, but I wish he'd let Admiral Nimitz write his communiqués.

The Manila battle seems to have been well conducted; choosing Leyte for the initial landing was extremely clever, the subsequent movements to Mindoro and Lingayen Gulf, always catching the enemy off guard and gaining excellent strategic results through economy of effort and concentration of forces, underline the General's ability as a commander-in-chief. But he continually mars his big achievements by little stupidities: not only the pompous and inaccurate communiqués, but careless planning, excesses of overconfidence or of caution, failure to press home advantages on some occasions, unnecessary exposure of troops and especially of supplies on others; constant jockeying for personal and political gain.

The last is most serious. There is a feeling in some navy quarters that the invasion of the Philippines at this time was unnecessary from a military point of view, that it was dictated by political reasons involving not only the liberation of the Filipinos but the security of the President from home-front snipers quick to resent any imagined slur on the General—who, whether through fault of his own or not, is the darling of our most virulent obstructionists.

This is distasteful to discuss in the open, especially when military security prohibits documentation of most of the General's shortcomings: but the length of the Pacific war, and its eventual cost in casualties, may well depend on the outcome of the secret struggle between MacArthur and the navy as to who shall lead the way into Tokyo—will Halsey get to ride Hirohito's white horse, or will the General arrive on one of his own?

On the record the navy has shown itself well ahead of the army in the Pacific as regards training, planning, execution, supply; its assault force, the Marine Corps, is probably the most capable body of fighting men in the world. If we take, as we evidently may, one of the short roads to Tokyo—from the Marianas through Iwo and the Bonins to Honshu, or from the Marianas and Iwo through the Ryukyus to Kyushu—it should unquestionably be a navy show, with the army troops under its command just as the Marines are. Nimitz, Halsey, Spruance, and Mitscher have a happy gift for taking calculated risks; and the risks from Iwo to Tokyo will have

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to be calculated carefully, neither dismissed nor worried over nor smoke-screened with bombast.

The entrance of Turkey and Egypt into the war is the last straw on Hitler's back. No nation could stand up under the overwhelming array of military might now presented. The Turk and the Egyptian, slow to anger. I suppose it is wise to make the new world as inclusive as possible, but this business of buying seats with tardy and empty gestures reminds me too much of the Alexandrine shopkeepers, frantically rubbing the victory V signs from their windows in 1942 when Rommel was rushing east from Tobruk.

What Hope for Small Powers?

BY PAUL MALLES

IN CONSIDERING the problem of the small powers in Europe the general public divides into two groups. The first takes the view that in a "shrinking" world small states are doomed to disappear. Their petty quarrels are a nuisance and a danger, for the great powers are constantly forced to interfere in their affairs. Unable to defend themselves, small states constitute zones of insecurity in the defense system of their big neighbors, which for that reason try to extend their "spheres of influence" as far as possible beyond their borders. The existence of small states thus becomes a powerful factor in the rivalries of the great powers, and it follows that the sooner the small states disappear from the map the sooner a real security system can be established.

The argument of the other group attempts to prove just the opposite. Small nations, it avers, have the same right to a free and independent existence as big ones. Their quarrels would have subsided long ago but for the constant interference of the great powers, which use them as pieces on the chessboard of power politics. Therefore any form of international order which does not guarantee to small nations the same degree of sovereignty, security, and economic opportunity that big countries enjoy is undemocratic and will be the background for renewed wars.

The element of truth in both arguments is obvious. The trouble is that they are based on two different political principles, which, in our present society, unfortunately appear to be antagonistic—power and right. When shall the twain meet, if ever? That precisely is the basic problem of the small states.

Both arguments use dangerous generalizations. Is it actually true that the "shrinking" of the world, the shortening of distances and the growing economic interdependency, must lead to the disappearance of small states? After all, the world has been "shrinking" not only in the last fifteen years but for more than a century. The technical revolution of the nineteenth century, with its integrating effect on the economic life of the world, has certainly not been surpassed as yet by the developments of the twentieth. Far from forcing small nations into greater units, the Industrial Revolution opened to them avenues of economic progress which converted disorganized and nearly bankrupt states like Sweden, Denmark, and Switzerland into thriving communities of exceptional political and social stability. Whatever the reasons, one cannot overlook the fact that these small states, and even new ones, like Czechoslovakia, weathered the storm of the last great depression better than most of the big nations, even to the extent of solving economic and social problems with which the great powers were still grappling at the beginning of the present war.

The eternal problem of the small states is not economic or social stability but security. It is often difficult to say when, in modern European history, the trend toward large political units has prevailed over the opposite trend, for integrating and disintegrating forces have been continuously at work. But one thing can be seen clearly: the establishment of small nations as independent states is definitely encouraged whenever weapons of defense gain superiority over weapons of offense. In the middle of the last century the Czech patriot and historian Palacky defended the Austrian Empire because he understood clearly even then the threat to the small Slavic nations offered by a unified Germany. But in the second half of the nineteenth century defensive strategy developed immense superiority, and the Czechs and other small nations could in 1918 actually gain their independence not only because the Central Powers had been defeated in World War I but also because the successful defense of these new states seemed feasible. While the old small powers of Scandinavia believed that World War I had demonstrated the futility of all wars of aggression, the new small powers of Central Europe, less optimistic but not less deluded, scrambled for odd bits of land of so-called strategic importance and spent millions of their national income on elaborate defense systems which a decade later proved no more useful than the "border guards" to which the Danish army had been reduced.

What will be the fate of the small powers at the end of this war, which has so amply demonstrated the futility of their defense measures? Their economic problems will be difficult, but they can be solved. The small powers of Europe, among which defeated Italy must now be included, have enough industrial and agricultural importance both as sources and markets to force the great powers, in their own interest, to put them on their feet again. But their security problem is worse than ever before. In fact, it seems insoluble in a world system which, whatever the form of the new international security organization, is based on power relationships.

One does not need to succumb to the pessimism expressed today in liberal circles and expect a new world war in five or ten or fifteen years. But it is completely illusory to think that in our present form of society the relations betwen nations can be based upon anything other than power. Thus the struggle for international security is unavoidably taking on a

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social-revolutionary aspect, which will be most apparent where the need for external security is greatest, that is, among the small European nations. This is what both the right and the left mean today when they utter the half-truth that Europe is going to turn" Communist."

This prediction ignores Masaryk's dictum that "states live by the ideas through which they have been created." Most of the European small states were created by the forces of the national-liberal revolution of which the American Revolution was a part. They will scarcely subjugate themselves willingly to either external or internal dictatorship. It is true, however, that the Soviet Union, because of its social-revolutionary basis, will have the greatest possible attraction for the small European nations, especially those which have not yet achieved the social stability of the small northern democracies. And this attraction will persist as long as the Western powers are unwilling or unable to guarantee the small nations a system which combines individual and national freedom with social and national security.

Dumbarton Oaks reflected only too well the disparaging attitude taken today by the great powers toward the small nations. While the charter of the old League of Nations maintained the complete legal equality of small and big powers—a practical absurdity—the Dumbarton Oaks draft leans to the other extreme. It reduces the "Assembly" to a debating society in which even the topics to be discussed are prescribed by the great powers. At the same time it vests all power in the "Security Council," in which the great powers are sacrosanct to all practical purposes. It seems clear enough that the great powers are pursuing a policy of "100 per cent realism" which, combined with the present helplessness of the small nations, makes all of them completely dependent on the Big Three.

As in other cases of so called "realism," it may well turn out in the long run that the present policy of the great powers is one of extreme unrealism. While the small powers may be negligible factors in power politics just now, they may not remain so in a changing Europe. They are strongly conscious of their rights and may very well become important as negative factors of perpetual unrest and obstruction. Poland and Greece are warning examples. Puppet governments may serve to secure an apparent tranquillity as long as they are protected by occupation armies. But sooner or later these armies will have to be withdrawn; and what then? The degree to which the great powers will permit the small nations to be heard in matters of general interest and to have a vote in matters that concern them will be indicative of the democratic content of the new world-security system. The criticism of the Dumbarton Oaks draft voiced quite unanimously in Canada is inevitable. Canada is the only one of the small or middle powers which during the whole war has been on the giving and not the receiving end of the United Nations war machine, and it will also be asked for great contributions in the post-war period. The idea of collective security is certainly not strengthened by asking a country to cooperate whole-heartedly in the new world organization and at the same time denying it the right to decide on actions in which it may become involved economically and militarily.

While it is not feasible to grant all the small and middle powers equal representation, functional representation is a possibility. Canada as a small power has persistently advanced this formula as the basis for representation on the war boards of the United Nations. The principle is applicable as well to the new world organization. It would at least signify an attempt to reconcile power and right.

50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THERE IS A VAST DEAL of satisfaction that Congress has at last adjourned, albeit tempered by the reflection that the meeting of the next one cannot be postponed beyond the first Monday in December. This satisfaction is expressed in some of the state legislatures by resolutions condemnatory of Congress and congratulating the country on its final adjournment and extinction.—*March 7, 1895.*

THE EFFECT OF WEALTH on the journalistic mind is a subject of considerable pathological interest which we commend to the Academy of Medicine. The condition of excitement into which the press has been thrown during the past fortnight by the marriage of one rich woman and the divorce of another, in fact, seems hardly distinguishable from a species of dementia. . . . This stuff is greedily read by all classes; and if we infer the character of the population from its consumption . . . we should say that the United States was inhabited exclusively by servant girls, longshoremen, and hackmen.—*March 14, 1895.*

AN ACTUAL AND BONA FIDE sale of American woolens has been made in Bradford, the great English center of woolen manufacturing. This is said to have been the first shipment of American woolens ever made to Europe.—*March 21, 1895.*

THE SHOCKING RIOT in the Indiana legislature, in which so many persons were hurt and the ribs of the Governor's secretary broken, was a regular football attempt to "tackle him low," so as to prevent his reaching the Speaker with a bill, and a distinguished football player really won fresh honors in the mêlée. The row arose over a bill intended to substitute a Republican for a Democrat as custodian of the Statehouse.—*March 21, 1895.*

HARVARD CLEARLY does not shrink from the distinction of administering the deathblow to intercollegiate football. After thinking over the matter for several weeks, the faculty of the university have not only adhered to their former resolution, adopted on February 19, requesting the committee on athletics to put a stop to such contests, but have gone a step farther, and, by a considerable majority, have voted that they "remain of the opinion that no student under their charge should be permitted to take part in intercollegiate football contests." . . . The devotees of the game will weep for a season, but their sorrow will be short-lived, and sanity will speedily resume sway in their minds.—*March 28, 1895.*

BOOK OF THE MONTH: Theodore Roosevelt, "The Winning of the West and Southwest."

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Henrietta Szold

BY MARVIN LOWENTHAL

"EVERYWHERE we discern prognostics of the fact that life in the twentieth century will not be easy to live." So Henrietta Szold, then a young slip of a woman, told a Maryland state teachers' convention in 1887. How hard it turned out to be, probably not even the shrewdest prognostics could reveal. On the whole, or at least as we look back upon it, the age in which she was reared appears idyllic and golden—"gilded" though they already called it—and beset with an unchastened optimism.

Born in 1860, the little Baltimore girl experienced only as a childish dream the torment of the Civil War. She remembered picking lint for the wounded boys in blue. From her father's shoulders, in the front parlor crowded with neighbors, she saw the funeral procession of Abraham Lincoln. Her father, a Hungarian-born rabbi who tempered a reformer's zeal with traditional learning and his own native wisdom, had fought on the barricades of Vienna in 1848; and in Baltimore he was dubbed "the rabbi of Timbuktu" because, in company with a small society of liberal-minded fellow-citizens, he proposed to help educate the newly freed Negroes. Through him Henrietta learned, more by example than precept, the principles she held fundamental to her life. Adopt, he urged, a central idea and relate everything to it; and, touching her more intimately, he impressed upon her by an unswerving behavior that "Judaism was not only a creed but a way of life."

Her home was a center of intellectual world-planning, world-curing bustle. The opening of Johns Hopkins University in 1876—the educational wonder of its day—brought to Baltimore and her father's dinner table young Fabian Franklin, Joseph Jastrow, and the Flexner and Heilprin brothers. At seventeen she published in a local paper an article on the Turkish-Balkan question which would have done credit to Mr. Godkin's *Nation*. The German language and much of its culture, as well as Hebrew, French, mathematics, and botany, became familiar passions. Except for her inner gaiety and a deep sense of kinship with the soil, both of which she inherited or absorbed from her parents, she might have passed for a devout little blue-stocking.

At eighteen she entered upon a decade of teaching. She likewise attended the public lecture courses of Johns Hopkins and the Peabody Institute; she became acquainted with prominent educators—Miss M. Carey Thomas, the founder of Bryn Mawr, and Mary Garrett, who gave Johns Hopkins a half-million dollars to open its door to women. Finally she embarked upon an educational innovation of her own. In 1889, the year that gave birth to Hull House, she founded in Baltimore a night school for immigrants—one of the first in the country, and in its Americanization and social programs an embryonic settlement house as well. If social service for its own sake, in itself an ennobling career, had inspired her as the "central idea" she unconsciously sought, she might have taken a place with Jane Addams, Lillian Wald, and a score of other women in the American quest for the better life. As it turned out, her career became unique. There never can be another Henrietta Szold.

The immigrants for whom her night school was created and who formed the majority of its students were Russian Jews—refugees from the oppressions and pogroms of the Czarist regime. Imperceptibly—for she did not wake up one morning a convert—the young immigrant Hebraists under whose direction she guided the school and the graybeards who wrestled with the English tongue in the classes made her a Zionist. Other and earlier influences played a part. Her father's dictum that Judaism was a way of life impelled her to the conclusion that such a life can be normal, productive, and full only if lived freely on a soil of its own and native to its genius. The martial poetry of Emma Lazarus, the contrasting spiritual indifference and snobbery rampant in the American Jewish scene—"materialism" she called it—the grandeur and romance as well as the tears and blood of the Jewish people, gave to her vision of the world and the place of the Jew in it a new and lasting focus. "I realized," she said in one of her early talks on the subject, "that Zionism supplied my bruised, torn, and bloody nation, my distracted nation, with an ideal that is balm to the self-inflicted wounds and to the wounds inflicted by others." From the outset her Zionism was never a narrow tribalistic cult. "Racial Zionism," she maintained long before Hitler turned the concept of race into a hideous mockery, "is a revolting anomaly." On the contrary, her ideal was catholic. It implied a goal which, to use her own words, "is at once spiritual, philanthropic, political, and—in good time—diplomatic."

Largely because she was possessed by the demon of practicality, years elapsed before she translated her Zionist fervor into deeds. She had no talent for oratory and no impulse to become a propagandist in thin air—agitating or organizing in behalf of an ideal which had as yet but slim foothold in reality. She reached in fact the age at which the average person feels set for life—she was forty-nine—when an "accidental" spur to action launched her upon the career that has made her famous.

A journey to Palestine in 1909 brought her face to face with a challenging aspect of Zionist reality. As she and her mother walked through a street in Jaffa on their way to the Jewish Girls' School they saw "a most horrible sight: children with wreaths of flies around their eyes." Yet the children in the school were free of the plague—because, so she learned, they received free compulsory medical attention. As they left the school her mother said, "Here is work for you."

Work it was, and Henrietta Szold was the incarnate soul of work. Upon her return to America she met with a group of thirty-seven women who organized themselves into a society called Hadassah. They chose a motto from Jeremiah: "The healing of the daughter of my people." They adopted as a program the propagation of Zionism in Amer-

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ica and the furtherance of health work in Palestine. For years thereafter Miss Szold was its tireless organizer, president, guiding light, and eventually—if the phrase may be used—its saintly tutelary spirit. Today its membership numbers 150,000 American women; and, throughout, its work has been the major factor in making Palestine the healthiest land in the Middle East and one of the healthiest in the world. Child-welfare centers, medical centers, nursing schools, and hospitals have carried the name of Miss Szold, and Hadassah, from Dan to Beersheba among Arab and Jew alike.

Immediately after the last war, at the age of sixty, the indomitable woman—often ill but always resilient—set out again for Palestine. There she took active charge of the Zionist public-health work. Successively she assumed task after task: directing education, organizing a country-wide social service, and occupying an executive post in the Jewish Agency—the body responsible, under the British mandate, for all Zionist activities in Palestine.

As she grew in years and deeds, her people heaped upon her new honors and, more flattering, new tasks. When Hitler launched his murderous war against the Jews of Europe, upon her slender shoulders—she was a wisp of a creature—fell the piteous work of rescuing those youngsters who managed to escape the Nazis and whom the British permitted, under murderously restricted quotas, to enter the promised land. She organized the methods, an exemplary achievement, whereby these waifs were restored to normal existence and prepared for active pursuits in farming or industry. Long ago Miss Szold had written, "I should have had children, many children." By the time of her death, a month ago, the children of the Youth Aliyah—the name of this rescue and rehabilitation movement—the children whom she had mothered into a new birth and a new life, numbered more than 13,000.

The spirit and philosophy of Henrietta Szold is perhaps best expressed in a letter she once wrote when the world and her own mood were at their darkest. "Just now," she said, "I tremble most of the time when I look ahead; but I console myself with the thought that one does not dream for two thousand years steadily without having the strength to live in accordance with the high ideals that made the beauty of the dream." Her reliance on the strength of a dream is the true measure of her practicality. It made her not the social-service leader but one of the builders of a nation.

The New South on the March

BY JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI

THE democratic South, the new South, is finding new spokesmen. Listen to young Governor Ellis Arnall speaking to the Georgia legislators after he had threatened that if they did not lift the burden of the poll tax from the ballot he would do so by executive order: "The voice of the new South will become more audible as the months and years go by. Georgia spoke today for democracy."

Listen to Senator Lister Hill of Alabama: "The Alabama poll tax, because of its cumulative requirements, is the most burdensome, restrictive, indefensible, and undemocratic of that of any state."

Listen to the fifty leading editors and writers of the South meeting at the Atlanta Biltmore on December 21, to discuss "Limitations on the Franchise in the South." Mark Ethridge, publisher of the Louisville *Courier Journal,* is in the chair. Harry S. Strozier, corporation lawyer and contributing editor of the Macon (Georgia) *News,* is speaking: "We cannot fight battles for democracy all over the world unless we have it here. . . . I want to see the poll tax abolished and the Negro enfranchised."

All over the South today there is evidence of an upsurge of progressive thought and action. University students are vigorously defending freedom of the press for a college editor at Williamsburg, Virginia, and academic freedom for a university president at Austin, Texas. Southern editors are supporting the Fair Employment Practices Committee and the Supreme Court decision in the Texas "white primary" case. Leading Tennessee ministers are joining in condemnation of the use of religion by the so-called Christian American Association to cloak legislative attacks on the "legitimate organizations of working people," and a protest is going to each member of the Georgia legislature in the name of 22,000 Methodist women urging defeat of the Christian American "right-to-work bill," which the women call a "right-to-work-for-starvation-wages bill." In South Carolina a state senator is actively campaigning for a secret ballot, and the Arkansas legislature has rescinded its action on the "millionaire's tax" resolution.

Without discounting in any way the bold action of Governor Arnall or the courageous words of Senator Hill, I want to point out that the real significance of what is happening in the South will be missed if one fails to understand that behind these leaders is an electorate ready for such leadership. The Georgia legislature acted as it knew the majority of the people of Georgia wanted it to act. Editors reflect as well as create public opinion. The fact that fifty of the outstanding editors and writers of the South were in complete agreement with Harry Strozier on the two questions of abolishing the poll tax and enfranchising the Negro means that Southern attitudes have been undergoing vast changes unnoticed by most of the politicians.

The Southern people have been at least a generation ahead of their leadership for many years. And the politicians who long ago ceased to represent them have remained in office only because so few people go to the polls—in the 1944 elections only 21 per cent of the potential voters. Probably three out of five Southerners have never cast a vote in their lives. In the midst of a great war in defense of democracy, only two out of thirteen Southern states en-

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joy majority rule. On the other hand, only three of the remaining thirty-five states failed to send at least 50 per cent of their potential voters to the polls on Election Day. Greatly as public opinion has changed in the South, no real progress can be made until the people take a more active part in politics and government. It is encouraging to note, therefore, that they are turning their attention to legislative action and suffrage reform.

Progressive efforts toward a new South were tremendously stimulated in 1938 by the President's Report on Economic Conditions in the South. The facts in this report were so startling that soon after its appearance a conference was called in Birmingham, Alabama, to discuss ways and means of remedial action. The fifteen hundred Southerners who attended—social workers, ministers, educators, a few business men, labor representatives, farmers, editors, and professional people—formed a permanent organization, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. For the past seven years this organization, led by the South's most distinguished citizens, has worked at the job of mobilizing the liberal South for democratic action. Its present president is Dr. Clark Foreman, who was the editor in charge of the writing of the President's report.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was founded on the principle that democracy is good, that the great majority of Southern people want democracy. And it recognizes that democracy cannot prevail in the South until there is suffrage reform. The title of the first anti-poll tax bill before Congress stated that it was introduced by Representative Geyer of California at the request of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. No Southern Congressman could be found at that time to sponsor the bill. After the poll tax became a national issue, the Civil Rights Committee of the Southern Conference was expanded to become the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax. This committee, under the leadership of Jennings Perry, editor of the Nashville *Tennessean,* Mrs. Virginia Foster Durr, and Mrs. Kathryn Shryver, has done a magnificent job, for which the democratic South is grateful. The Conference has also carried on an active educational campaign to obtain state action against the poll-tax evil.

But the poll tax is only one of many restrictions on the ballot. The Conference has fought many battles around specific issues to combat intolerance, anti-Semitism, racial prejudice, and other obstacles to a free and democratic society.

By emphasizing the growth of progressive sentiment in the South I do not mean to minimize the strength of the reactionary elements. Intolerance has always thrived on poverty. It is no accident that native fascist groups have usually had their headquarters in the South—William Pelley and his Silver Shirts in Asheville, George Christians in Chattanooga, the Klan in Georgia, Vance Muse and his Christian Americans in Houston, Texas. The latest of these groups, first active in Georgia, calls itself the Commoner Party. According to its prospectus, "The Commoner Party proposes the formation of a Gentile political-party block to combat the Jew and Negro racial blocks now active in the political affairs of the nation."

Last summer, during the Democratic primary contest in Alabama between Lister Hill and Jim Simpson, the Simpson forces concentrated on the issue of white supremacy. The most virulent and provocative race propaganda was circulated. About two weeks before Election Day, when only one timid editorial voice had been raised in protest at these tactics, the Southern Conference through its Alabama affiliate sent out a statement to about two thousand leading white citizens of Alabama strongly condemning the injection of race into a political campaign and asking for signatures for publication. During one week-end more than four hundred signatures were received.

There was a time when Southern politicians could keep the voters' minds off such subjects as jobs, wages, and social security by raising the issue of white supremacy. But those days are gone. The Southern people are becoming more and more politically literate, and when enough of them can surmount the many obstacles to voting, things will happen in the state legislatures and in Congress. The proof is in the victories of Hill, Pepper, and Arnall, and the retirement of Dies, Starnes, Reynolds, and Newsome.

The Conference is seeking wide publicity for two sets of facts—the enormous natural wealth of the South, and the bitter poverty of its people. More is known of the poverty than of the wealth. The South could be a veritable paradise if its natural resources were converted to the use of the inhabitants. The thirteen Southern states, one-fourth of the total area of the nation, contain half of the nation's farms, 90 per cent of the sulphur and phosphate, two-thirds of the oil and natural gas, a fourth of the electric power, 40 per cent of the lumber production, and ample supplies of coal and iron. Having given it in addition a salubrious climate, the good Lord evidently intended the South to be His prize exhibit of the abundant life. What must be His amazement on examining his handiwork to find that the 36,500,000 people on these 800,000 square miles have the lowest living standards in the nation—the worst diet, the shabbiest houses, the fewest toilets, the poorest schools, hospitals, and libraries!

With 27 per cent of the population and about 40 per cent of the natural resources, the thirteen Southern states have only 12 per cent of the manufactures and 12 per cent of the money. Here is a situation that demands help from Washington and wise leadership at home. It is hoped that the agencies in charge of the disposal of war plants will keep the plants in the South going, and that the control will be left with Southerners for the benefit of the South.

The Southern Conference aims to show all groups in the region how enormous are the possibilities if they will work together. If the income of ten Southern states were raised to the national average, the national income would be increased by ten billion dollars! What would that not mean to the nation at large in terms of increased purchasing power? Such an achievement, of course, is dependent on education for all, training in new skills for all, new industries, high wages, reasonable profits that can be reinvested in Southern industry. Everyone, white and colored, must progress together or remain where they are. Fortunately, many business men, such as Andrew J. Higgins and Louis Reynolds, have long realized the possibilities and have started on the way to make them a reality. It is time for the politicians to wake up and get in step with the new democratic South. It is time for the voters to take action.

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Needed: A Citizens' Army

BY IRVING LIPKOWITZ

THE controversy over peace-time conscription has forced into the background the more crucial issue: are we going to have a citizen or a professional army? Conscription is being considered as an isolated question, as though it were an end in itself. The title of a recent article epitomizes this approach—Does This Nation Want Compulsory Military Training in Peace Time? In that narrow frame of reference it is easy and seemingly virtuous for many to condemn conscription and raise once again the familiar arguments used before the war against the R. O. T. C. and big armies. Discussions on that plane get nowhere because they miss the undeniable fact that conscription is the only means thus far suggested for building a citizen army. Consideration of conscription as a self-contained issue is a dangerous reversion to the pre-war idea that the smaller the army the better. A broader view is necessary because much more than a recruiting method is at stake.

The problem is not one of military semantics but of a durable peace. Many of those who oppose conscription are for a peace settlement fully implemented with enforcement machinery. During the early, most critical post-war years that "machinery," we all know, is going to consist primarily of armies. No matter what we say or do within our own country, the world is going to have an armed peace for some years to come. Under the circumstances those who advocate an enforceable peace cannot honestly evade the responsibility of helping to shape the post-war army.

This is a strange new burden for the American citizen. Until this war military affairs were assumed to be a specialized problem, to be handled by an expert few in Washington. Never before did the army loom as an important influence on our political and economic future. The road ahead will be especially rough for liberals because their contempt for appeasement and their advocacy of intervention have not obliterated their traditional antipathy to all things military. There is still a tendency to consider the mere existence of an army as militarism. To persist in that view is defeatism.

The immediate job ahead is building the right kind of post-war army. Opposition to conscription will not achieve that objective. A large professional army is a much greater threat to democracy and peace than is conscription. Success in the current battle against conscription will be a Pyrrhic victory if it prepares the ground for a professional army and creates a civilian-versus-military class consciousness.

The citizen army is a better bulwark against fascism and militarism than just "no conscription." A citizen-reservist army helps to keep military affairs in the right political perspective. Military service becomes the part-time civic duty of the citizen instead of the full-time job of a special group. The broader the class of reservists is, and it would include the thirty-year-old alumni as well as the active twenty-year-olds, the less chance there is of building up a powerful clique of full-time professionals. All who are or have been reservists will be much more alert, as *civilians*, to the way military affairs are handled. With the public circulating through the army, that institution is bound to be more democratic in outlook and more sensitive to civilian opinion than a strictly professional army could ever be.

Moreover, militarism is better served by professionals than by reservists. The citizen who chooses to be a reservist rather than a full-time soldier has obviously decided to make his place in the civilian world and is not likely to seek glory through war. On the contrary, he will be extremely desirous that there shall be no next war. Eagerness for a "good fight" is more likely to develop among full-time regulars who spend all their time preparing for one. Those who oppose conscription claim that the period of training will make militarists of our youth. But there is no reason to assume that a short period in the army will influence their attitude more than the years of civilian life before and after their term of service. The absence of a military tradition among the people of this country is further assurance that conscription will not necessarily bring such a change. The existence of a professional army creates the illusion among civilians that perhaps they will not be called upon to serve if war comes and so lessens their interest in preventing war. If war does come again, the civilian must be conscripted into the army anyway, and the country, not the enemy, pays the price of last-minute extemporization.

The citizen army also has the advantages of flexibility and youth. As reservists grow old, they automatically become inactive; the professional army cannot rid itself as easily of its over-aged regulars. And since the size of the citizen army can be more quickly adjusted by extending or shortening the periods of training or of active reserves, it will be easier to keep the citizen army large enough to enforce the peace and yet small enough to keep ourselves peaceful.

The superiority of the citizen-army pattern over the professional is so pronounced that it must be established even if the price is conscription. The method of recruiting is not going to determine whether or not we become militaristic. The political and social atmosphere in which it is conducted, especially the attitude of the civilian and the soldier toward each other, will be the controlling force. We have had conscription for more than four years, and no one can say that it has fostered militarism or fascism among us. If those conditions did not develop in war time, there is no reason to assume that they will in peace time, when civilian controls over military affairs can be more extensive.

The creation of a true citizen army is not a quixotic project. Democracy and military strength are not irreconcilable. The last election showed that the army is not a political bloc in this nation. The army's demobilization plan, based on the preferences of the common soldier, and the expanding program of discussion forums are further examples of what can happen in the army of the United States.

Until a sincere and vigorous effort is made to establish a

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citizen army, nobody is justified in taking the position that it cannot be done. In fact, a beginning has already been made by General Marshall himself. A policy directive on the post-war army, released to the public by General Marshall on September 2, 1944, declared that the citizen-army pattern is to be "the basis for all plans for a post-war peace establishment." Some of General Marshall's reasons for favoring a citizen army reflect a concern for political democracy and for keeping the military an arm of the civilian government. He points out that with citizen reserves blending the military forces into the civilian population, "an intelligent and widespread public opinion is provided as the basis for the determination of all public questions relating to military affairs." Many groups, from the saber-rattlers at one extreme to the undiluted pacifists at the other, have in past decades encouraged a priesthood atmosphere among the military which insulated military affairs too much from public opinion. The army, like the government, can be made responsive to the public will by the participation of the citizen in its activities.

General Marshall's directive is not a guaranty of a true citizen army but an opportunity to build one. Such an army will never materialize unless there is strong, broad, and constant public support for it. Our congenital distaste for military matters in peace time must be disciplined. As in so many other fields of citizenship, a new attitude, much more positive than the old-time cynicism, must be shaped. The time has come to recognize that the army and navy will be powerful elements of our post-war government—and that they will be as wholesome as the American people make them, no better and no worse. Military affairs must become as much everybody's business in peace time as they are today.

Whoever is for a citizen army cannot be unequivocally against conscription unless he can show specifically how that type of army can be built on a volunteer basis. Those who take their stand against conscription without suggesting alternative methods of recruiting a citizen army are for all practical purposes advocating a professional army.

Postponement of a decision about our post-war army until after the war, as some suggest, would be a serious error because the delay would prevent the perfection of the peace-enforcement machinery and of plans for demobilization. The transition to a peace-time army needs as much advance planning as does reconversion of our production resources. The army cannot perfect its plans for demobilization until those in charge are given a clear idea of the kind and size of army Congress and the people will support. Those now in uniform who may want to continue in military service also have a right to know what kind of peace-time army there is to be. The real question, however, is whether the public is going to enrich plans that are now in the making with its views or, by default, hand them over to the military specialists. Instead of shelving the army problem, the American people ought to be giving it their most serious attention.

The rest of the world does not fear military aggression by the United States; after four years of conscription and three years of war the predominant desire of men at the battle fronts and in the war plants is to get back to peace. The other nations do fear that we may withdraw from international affairs, as we did after the last war, and if we leave the crucial question of our peace-time army unsettled, their fears will grow stronger. On the other hand, a clear-cut decision, a commitment to build an adequate citizen army, will be a convincing sign to other peoples that we mean to do our share in the creation and maintenance of peace.

No middle course is open to the United States. We either help shape the peace or take it as others make it. If we are to help fabricate the peace, we must be ready with the necessary machinery, including the right kind and size of army.

[*Last week* The Nation *printed an article by John Scholte Nollen against peace-time conscription. Further discussion of the question will appear in subsequent issues.*]

In the Wind

IN THE FIRST EDITION of the Nashville *Tennessean* of January 22 an editorial headed Commerce for Wallace? urged the Senate to get in step with the times and confirm Henry Wallace's appointment. The editorial was missing from all subsequent editions. Next day the paper ran an editorial, headed A Blow to Confidence, which said it would be in the nature of a national disaster for the Senate to confirm Wallace. Marvin W. Strate of St. Paul, to whom we owe this information, remarks, "It's a wise editor who knows his own mind, and an even wiser one who knows his owner's mind."

ONE OF THE MOST IMPRESSIVE speeches on social and economic questions at the World Trade Union Congress in London was made by Wallace Johnson, a Negro from Sierra Leone, Africa, who had just been released by the British after five years of imprisonment and exile for union activities.

IF YOUR LOCAL DAIRY is running advertisements to the effect that there would be plenty of butter if the OPA would only raise the ceiling price, it is most probable that the ads were written in Chicago. The American Dairy Association, with offices in that city, is supplying its members all over the country with ready-made layouts to which they need only add their names. It's part of a national campaign to raise prices.

THE NAME of Lieutenant General George S. Patton was mentioned in company with those of Bach, Handel, and other composers of sacred music in the New York *Sun's* Saturday column, The Choir Loft, on February 10. The General has written a hymn, "God of Battle," which has been set to music by Peter De Rose and recorded by Phil Spitalny and his All-Girl Orchestra.

FESTUNG EUROPA: In Oslo a box of matches costs six kroner ($1.25). . . . So many Germans have fled to Prague from points southeast that a special newspaper, *Der Deutsche aus dem Südosten,* has been established for them. This is a typical editorial comment: "Your special political mission as an active all-Germanic outpost is only interrupted. It will live again, later."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. We will pay $1 for each item accepted.*]

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Torture in Argentina

BY JOHN W. WHITE

[In view of the attempts of the Argentine dictatorship to impress the Conference of Foreign Ministers at Mexico City and American public opinion by hinting that it may declare war against Germany and permit democratic elections, Mr. White's exposure of the Gestapo methods of the Farrell-Perón regime has special interest and timeliness. It is the first of several articles by Mr. White; the next one will deal with the political situation in Bolivia.]

THE Gestapo's barbarian use of torture and intimidation has been transplanted successfully to the Western Hemisphere. Since torture has always been an essential part of the Nazi technique, it should not be surprising, perhaps, that it accompanied totalitarian ideology to the Nazi-fascist bridgehead in South America. Most of us have assumed, however, when watching the less revolting techniques of Gestapo agents exposed in the movies, that nothing like that could happen here, and "here" includes those republics to the south which we have blessed with our good neighborliness. But it *has* happened; both torture and intimidation have become flourishing state institutions in several Latin American republics, chief among them Argentina.

Torture is not a recent innovation in South America, of course. In its milder forms it has always been used by the police of all the republics, just as it is used today by the police in the United States. Italy and Germany, however, showed Latin America's fascists what really could be done to a naked prisoner if some serious thinking were given to the subject.

Argentina set its clock back nearly a century by the coup d'état which overthrew President Castillo and installed the present military regime. The regime's brutal treatment of all political prisoners and its assassination of the more troublesome ones is a return to the days of the bloody tyrant Juan Manuel de Rosas, whose well-organized gang of cutthroats, called the Mazurka, would have had little to learn from the Gestapo of today.

After General Uriburu's pro-fascist revolution of September, 1930, the Buenos Aires police department set up a so-called Special Section to rid the country of the "Communist menace." Under Uriburu, as under Farrell and Perón, anyone who dared oppose the government or even question the wisdom of any of its dictatorial decrees was a "Communist." In the 1930's, however, Argentina was not yet ready for Nazi-fascism, and Uriburu was ousted and fled to Europe. The Special Section persisted as one of several active groups which preserved and cultivated the virus of anti-democracy until it could be loosed on the country again in the pro-Nazi revolt which overthrew President Castillo in June, 1943.

Soon after the Farrell-Perón regime came to power, leading operatives of Himmler's Gestapo who had been assigned to Buenos Aires suggested that the Special Section be reorganized and "modernized." Under their expert guidance it was expanded from a city detective bureau into a great national organization specializing in persecution and torture. It has set up concentration camps for political prisoners similar to those in Nazi Germany, tortured thousands of victims guilty of nothing more serious than belonging to labor unions or democratic political parties, killed or caused the death of hundreds of people bearing Jewish, Polish, or Russian names, and caused the disappearance of other hundreds.

The Montevideo and Santiago branches of the Argentine underground movement have published from time to time the names of many of the political prisoners and described in detail the almost unbelievable brutality of their torture. Recently a letter was made public that had been written by prisoners confined in the cold, wet cellar of the city jail at La Plata, capital of the province of Buenos Aires. The letter declared that there were so many prisoners in the cellar that most of them had to remain on their feet while a few slept on the floor. They were given insufficient food of poor quality, and the physicians who were called in to attend the worst sufferers explained to the prisoners that they dared do no more than prescribe medicine.

Despite the revolting nature of most of the torture techniques now being used against political prisoners in Argentina, it seems advisable to make them known as evidence of the extent to which Nazi methods have already been established in the Western Hemisphere. The following account of some of these techniques has been sent to certain United Nations governments by their diplomatic agents at Buenos Aires and can be accepted as true, though perhaps incomplete.

The "electric spur" is the favorite instrument of the new school of native sadists who have been trained by Gestapo experts. It is a simple electric cable with several fine steel needles at the end. These electric needles are applied to the most sensitive parts of the naked body, such as the eyelids, the sexual organs, and the rectum. The torture usually is applied at two or more parts of the body simultaneously and has such terrific effect on the entire nervous system that it frequently produces insanity. In less extreme cases it paralyzes the muscles and causes great painful swellings and deep sores. It is persistently reported that at least five thousand people in Argentina have been tortured with the electric spur.

A simpler but equally effective method is to jab long hatpins through the testicles. Another frequent "treatment" subjects political prisoners, women as well as men, to a third degree in which their naked bodies are burned with lighted cigarettes in an effort to force them to answer questions the way the political police want them answered.

The "cup" is a device in the form of a funnel which is pressed against the body and from which the air is then pumped out. The resulting vacuum causes a huge swelling inside the cup and draws the blood to the surface, leaving a large black-and-blue sore. This device is used on prisoners known to be suffering from heart ailments. When applied in

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the region of the heart it aggravates the affection and often causes death from "heart failure."

The "bucket" is a huge vat filled with urine and excrement. The prisoner who is given this "treatment" is hung by his feet from the ceiling and then lowered until his head is submerged in the contents of the vat. This particular technique has the attraction of producing two forms of torture at the same time—semi-drowning in filth, and congestion of the brain from the downward flow of the blood.

One form of torture makes use of a familiar office appliance. In many European and South American countries letters, contracts, and other business documents are written in copying ink and preserved in duplicate by being put between the pages of a "copy-book" which is then squeezed between iron plates. The Argentine political police have found this office press a convenient method of smashing the fingers of prisoners who refuse to sign certain declarations.

The "slab" is a torture machine made of two huge sheets of steel. The victim is placed between the sheets, which are pressed together gradually until he suffers internal hemorrhages and vomits blood.

The whip and the rod have been seen in the movies. The long leather whip is usually dipped in water before the lashes are applied; the rod is made of fine steel bars that cut into the flesh like knives.

Professional boxers are employed to beat up certain prisoners since they know how to produce the desired effect without leaving telltale wounds.

One highly refined form of mental torture drives the prisoner almost to the point of insanity without actually causing any physical hurt. The victim usually is awakened at two or three o'clock in the morning and told that he is to be executed by a firing squad. He is then "taken for a ride" in an automobile, accompanied by two or three guards armed with rifles and obviously members of the firing squad. Finally he is stood against a wall and the firing squad is lined up, but at the last-minute he is reprieved and taken back to his cell. (This is one of several techniques which are reported to have been used on the Bolivian tin-mine owner, Maurice Hochschild, after he was kidnapped by members of the young army officers' "lodge" in La Paz last year.)

Sometimes as a variation a prisoner who is to be released is "taken for a ride" in an automobile, accompanied by armed guards. When the automobile gets to a deserted region outside the city, the prisoner is told that he is at liberty. Being familiar with the famous *ley de fuga* by which prisoners are shot while supposedly trying to escape, he stands there afraid to move and under mental torture that may induce insanity.

La razzia is an importation from the Sicilian Black Hand societies and is used for intimidating the opposition, especially the working classes. Gangs of armed thugs terrorize entire neighborhoods by breaking into and wrecking houses and by storming meetings of associations and trade unions, beating up those present and destroying the furniture and fixtures on the pretext that the meeting is plotting against the government. Schools, libraries, and newspaper offices have been raided frequently, and on two occasions movie theaters in Buenos Aires were stormed while crowded with people. One of these was the Mitre Theater in the working-class district of Avellaneda; the other was the Cine Arte Theater in the downtown section of the city, where an American war picture was being shown. The *razzia* has also been used frequently in Dock Sud and Villa Crespo, two workingmen's districts outside the city of Buenos Aires.

Even when they are not tortured, political prisoners are demoralized and intimidated by being subjected to what is popularly known as *el mal trato*. Women of the working classes, especially wives and daughters who have refused to testify against their husbands and fathers, are put into cells with prostitutes and women criminals. They are not permitted visits from their families or from a lawyer; nor can they receive decent food from outside the jail.

The *mal trato* is applied to men prisoners in even worse form. If they are ill they usually are sent to regions where it is certain that their illness will get worse. They are given very poor food or deprived for entire days of anything to eat or drink. They receive no medical attention and may be put into cells with criminals of the lowest order.

So many lawyers have been punished for defending political prisoners in Argentina that it is practically impossible now for prisoners to find lawyers, except the ones who occasionally are assigned as "defense lawyers" by the government. Two of Argentina's most famous attorneys—Rodolfo Araoz Alfaro and Samuel Smerkin—are in concentration camps because they attempted to defend political prisoners.

The Italian Partisans

BY MARIO BELLINI

IN A recent speech before the House of Commons Mr. Churchill dealt at some length with the problem of the resistance movement in Europe. From the spirit of his speech it was evident that the Prime Minister favored the guerrillas as long as they limited their activity to fighting. He referred to the "brave men who have been fighting and maintaining guerrilla warfare in the Alps" and added that they had fought "very desperate battles." Prior to this Mr. Churchill had consistently minimized Italian guerrilla activity because of its anti-monarchist character. He had found frequent opportunity, however, to praise the Lieutenant General of the Realm as one "whose sincerity and ardor in the Allied cause and whose growing stature in Italian eyes are equally apparent." And he had often spoken of the "legitimate" king, and of Badoglio, whose "behavior is most creditable." All this, while he was telling the Italian people that they must "pay for the faults of Fascism."

Not everyone in England has followed Mr. Churchill's lead, and there have been various attempts to present the true situation. The day after Churchill's speech Aneurin Bevan took the floor in the House of Commons to say: "When Italy is freed, let us remember that it is on record from Field Marshal Alexander that the resistance movement in Italy has been more effective in fighting the Germans than any other resistance movement in Europe. More than 250,000 Italians have lost their lives in that resistance movement. If the men from Milan and Turin march down in order to extirpate their decadent society, would British soldiers be used once more to shoot them down?" The question has remained unanswered.

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This was not the first time that members of the British Parliament had an opportunity to hear the truth about the Italian contribution to Germany's defeat. Recently six members of Parliament who were visiting the Italian front were told by a high Canadian officer that "without the efforts, big and small, of the patriots our task would have been doubly difficult and three times as costly."

The Italian Partisan movement derives its strength from a determination that inspires distrust in Mr. Churchill, a determination not only to drive the Nazis out of Italy but to achieve political freedom within Italy. That is why it receives little help, if any, from the Allies.

The efforts of the Italian guerrillas have been far greater than is generally recognized. On September 27, 1944, when Marshal Alexander was besieging Bologna, he ordered the patriots of the city to rise against the enemy. "Allied armies," he said in his proclamation, "are fighting with the greatest determination in the Apennine Mountains and are advancing inexorably toward the Po Valley. The liberation of your town is approaching. Patriots, your task is to attack the enemy wherever you meet him, to hit him singly or in groups. Thus you will hasten your liberation." The Bologna patriots obeyed the Allied commander's orders, but Bologna was not freed and the Germans suppressed the rebellion. On November 20 the Swiss *National Zeitung* revealed that "on Marshal Kesselring's personal order two Black Shirt divisions arrived from Germany and spent about a month hunting, arresting, deporting, and massacring many thousands of Bolognese belonging to patriotic movements."

Certainly the Allies owe much to the courage and faith of these men who died for the common cause. But they are showing the same unwillingness to understand the true meaning of the Italian guerrilla movement as they showed earlier toward the French liberation movement and the Yugoslav Partisans. This attitude of the Allies was demonstrated when, on November 12, 1944, Marshal Alexander ordered the Italian Partisans to cease large-scale operations.

Captain Ettore Sighieri, leader of a Partisan brigade, correctly pointed out that "to disband the Partisans is a proposal which, aside from any moral consideration, is impossible to realize. When a man joins us, he not only wants to stay but is bound to stay. If the Allies should refuse to help us, if the Rome government should continue to do nothing for us, we would rather fight to the last with the few weapons we possess than go home and be shot by the Germans. . . . We Partisans cannot winter as a regular army. To do so we should have to take cover in villages; but if we occupy a village, the Germans attack us in great strength, forcing us to retreat, and then they destroy the village in reprisal. We cannot remain in the mountains because in the winter we find nothing to eat and the cold is too bitter. To return to the plains would mean to be sentenced to death or at best to be deported to Germany. In order to survive we have to fight." (*Italia Libera,* Rome, November 17, 1944.)

It was not with people like these that General Eisenhower signed the unconditional-surrender terms. The patriots' aim is not to save the dynasty through the protection of a foreign power but to help their country. It is largely owing to them that after twenty years of Fascist tyranny a democratic Italy is now emerging.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

THERE has not only been a Crimean proclamation but a German counter-proclamation, issued officially by the German News Bureau on February 13. It bore the title "The Yalta Hate Program" and the subtitle "The Chief War Criminals, Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin, Concoct a Fresh Crime Against Mankind." The document began by pronouncing judgment on the Yalta communiqué:

> This program of hatred is the greatest political murder conspiracy of all times. . . . Diabolical intention to destroy the center of Europe. . . . We are here faced not only with an orgy of hatred against Germany but with a crime against mankind, a crime far surpassing even that perpetrated by Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin in provoking this war.

It then gave a summary of the communiqué's contents:

> The statement declares in detail that Germany is to be utterly crushed by brute force and then dismembered. German industry is to be carried off. Sham courts are to be set up to continue the mass murder of German men, women, and children. Pending trial, Germans are to be forced into slave labor for foreign tyrants. This in a nutshell is the import of the hate-inspired Yalta program, whose keynote is "unconditional surrender"—the demand that the German people voluntarily subscribe to their own extermination.

The driving force of the Crimean conference was unmasked as "truly Biblical Jewish hatred":

> This plan to destroy Germany has its origins in international Jewry. That alone can explain the complete harmony among Washington, London, and Moscow. The driving force behind Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin is the Jew, that eternal Jew who has brought such infinite suffering to the people of this earth during the several thousand years of his existence. The Führer's prophecy is now to be confirmed. The Jew is out to exterminate the Aryan. That is one of the aims of this war. But the actual result will be extermination of the Jew in Europe.

Finally the reaction of the German people was predicted:

> The news of the hate-inspired plan of Yalta is spreading inside Germany like wildfire. Never—this is our vow in this hour when our enemies have dropped their mask and we see the mocking, diabolical leer of the Jew—never shall this plan to murder Germany be executed. Never shall this attempt against the future of the European nations be actually carried out. Our wrath will grow into a wild national fury. Ninety million Germans will stand fast on their native soil and, arms in hand, shatter this plan, the most diabolical of all time.

What can the German people expect to gain from such a "wild national fury"? What can now change the outcome of the war? The things urged as ground for hope become more and more mystical and foolish. As the front drew near to the Saxon border the greatest newspaper in the country offered its readers this proof of the certain prospect of a change: "German leadership faces developments at the front with iron nerves and calmness. By this attitude it proves incontrovertibly that it still has the trumps with which to master the dangerous situation." A Pomeranian newspaper presented proof of equal validity. "Let us remember the plight of England and the Soviets a few years ago. Every blow a nation receives only makes it stronger and more determined. A decisive change is bound to occur."

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

FULL EMPLOYMENT—BEVERIDGE MODEL

BY MORDECAI EZEKIEL

FULL EMPLOYMENT IN A FREE SOCIETY. By William H. Beveridge. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.75.

THOSE who fear the Murray bill as "establishing a collective society" will view Sir William Beveridge's "Full Employment in a Free Society" with equal alarm. But all who realize the urgency of an effective yet democratic solution for this central problem of our times will find this epochal work a stimulus to clearer thought and an arsenal of arguments to overwhelm the doubters.

The publication of the American edition is an event of equal importance with the appearance of Keynes's "General Theory" itself. The book has a significance for contemporary America far greater than the brief notices from England had implied. Already the father of social security, Beveridge is now firmly established as master of the whole problem of employment and unemployment.

Sir William marshals the varied facts about the persistence of unemployment before the war, and states the case for governmental action to sustain markets for all that the economy can produce at full employment. Up to this point he follows the Keynesian analysis, and buttresses British and American proposals based upon it—the British White Paper, the President's last budget message, and the Murray bill (now the Murray-Wagner-Thomas-O'Mahoney bill). But he breaks new ground to conclude that public fiscal operations are not the only condition necessary to maintain full employment. "The first condition of full employment is that total outlay should always be high enough to set up a demand for products of industry . . . using the whole man-power of the country . . . this must be made a responsibility of the state." Beyond this basic need two subsidiary measures are also needed—"controlled location of industry and organized mobility of labor." "It is better, and less of an interference with individual lives, to control business men in the location of their enterprises than to leave them uncontrolled and to require work people to move their homes for the sake of employment." In addition to state control of the location of industry, the mobility of labor must be organized so as to flow into the right industries and, if necessary, into the right areas. "Use of unemployment exchanges . . . should be compulsory [for] all persons under eighteen, so that the flow of adaptable youth into industries may be wisely directed. Changes in the demand for labor are inseparable from progress. . . . Organized mobility means that if and when change is necessary, men and women should be willing to change their occupations and their places of work rather than cling to idleness. It does not mean perpetual motion." Beyond these three basic propositions, examination of the international implications of full employment in England leads Beveridge to two further propositions—not quite so clearly high-lighted in his summary: (1) that if England and other countries are to follow full-employment policies while carrying on uncontrolled multilateral trading among themselves, they must retain the right to protect themselves "against the contagion of depression by discrimination in trade and by other measures . . . [such] protection . . . cannot make the ultimate condition of the depressed country worse"; and (2) that stabilization of "the production and marketing of . . . food and raw materials is an essential step for preventing fluctuation in industrial countries." But since *all fluctuation in overseas demand cannot be eliminated*, Britain must establish measures "for varying home demand to meet variations of overseas demand."

These basic proposals are supported by a marshaling of relevant facts on all aspects of the subject, especially British and American, which would be Teutonic in its thoroughness if it were not lightened by British conciseness and wit. "I have made the use of indispensable technical language as painless as possible by giving in Appendix D an explanation of terms." Despite the deep seriousness and even passion with which Sir William states his case, you are still aware of the irrepressible twinkle in his merry eye. The book is a very readable one, especially the initial forty-page introduction and summary. That is doubly fortunate, for first-hand understanding of this crucial subject is a "must" for many persons who never have attempted to master the technical jargon of economics.

Despite the wealth of statistical and economic erudition with which he supports his conclusions, Sir William's approach is deeply humanistic. Unemployment is not only an economic problem but a social disease. "The . . . Report takes as its aim freedom from idleness." While inability to find workers when needed is merely an inconvenience to the employer, causing "annoyance or loss," inability to find a job is "a personal catastrophe . . . idleness even on an income corrupts; the feeling of not being wanted demoralizes." The work men are put to must not be merely made work or leaf-raking—self-respect demands that they have work that they can see is useful and counts. Man-power must be used to produce products or services of the greatest significance to the community—"the objective is not simply outlay but wise outlay." But overriding this objective is work itself—men left hopelessly idle rot and perish (or create revolution, as in Germany, the reviewer would add).

Despite the additional facets which have been stressed, the dominant theme is the need and method of maintaining adequate market demand for all that the economy can produce. The use of public expenditure to maintain full employment is essentially a conservative undertaking—"full employment is in fact attainable while leaving the conduct of industry

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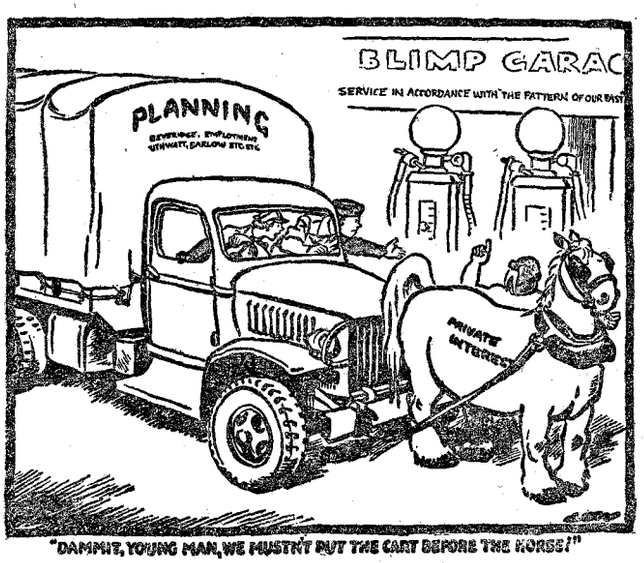
in the main to private enterprise, and the proposals made in the Report are based on this view." The public budget must be so established that "after estimating how much . . . private citizens may be expected to lay out on consumption and private investment" there will be "public outlay sufficient, with this estimated private outlay, to employ the whole man-power of the country" (p. 136). This involves a clear break with the old principle that state budgets should be as small as possible and should balance income and outgo each year. So long as laissez faire is assumed to create effective demand for all the productive resources, "the state cannot prudently use . . . these resources for its own purposes without depriving private citizens of their use. But once the possibility of deficient private demand is admitted, the state . . . must be prepared to spend more than it takes away from its citizens by taxation, in order to use the labor and other productive resources which would otherwise be wasted in unemployment." Deficit expenditure, however, is not essential to state assurance of full employment—various models of British taxation and expenditure (prepared by Nicholas Kaldor) show that heavy state expenditures backed by heavy progressive taxation could maintain full employment and balance the public budget at the same time. While Sir William concludes that "it is better to provide the means for outlay by taxing than by borrowing," he has no fear of borrowing. Rather he emphasizes that "the state in matters of finance is in a different position from any private citizen or association of private citizens; it is able to control money in place of being controlled by it. . . . An internal national debt . . . does not and cannot reduce the total wealth of the community. . . . [British] national debt could be expanded at the rate of not less than £775 million a year . . . without involving any increase in tax rates to meet the additional charge for interest . . . a rate of borrowing far in excess . . . of anything needed to maintain full employment in peace



"DAMMIT, YOUNG MAN, WE MUSTN'T PUT THE CART BEFORE THE HORSE!"

time. . . . To submit to unemployment or slums or want, to let children go hungry and the sick untended, for fear of increasing the internal national debt is to lose all sense of relative values" (p. 148).

Nor is taxation merely a means of raising money. "Taxation . . . should be looked on as a means of reducing private expenditure on consumption and thereby freeing real resources for other uses. . . . The decision as to how money required for public outlay should be raised depends really on the decision as to how money can be spent to best advantage," publicly or privately, that is, planned or unplanned. This decision will vary with time and circumstances; for England in the immediate post-war period he feels that publicly planned objectives will take precedence.

The annual national budget which Beveridge proposes is similar in most respects to that proposed in the Murray bill, though it is classified somewhat differently in groups which add up to (1) consumption outlay, (2) business investment (including public expenditures of a "self-liquidating" type), and (3) "communal outlay" on publicly produced or purchased "non-marketable goods and services." To these he adds a new type, "joint consumption outlay," under which the state would place orders with private producers for food, fuel, and other necessary products, "with a view to reselling them later to private consumers at a price which may at need be lowered by a subsidy." This method "combines the advantage of social guidance of outlay with consumers' freedom." This would be an alternative to, or extension of, the school-lunch, special-milk, and food-stamp plans used here and abroad. While Beveridge's public underwriting of private production bears some superficial resemblance to the general underwriting of basic industries which I proposed some years ago, he does not visualize the detailed industrial planning which my proposals assumed, or the simultaneous underwriting of as many sectors of industry.

Beveridge brings together his recommendations for England in a "long-term program of planned outlay" which would cover current expenditures by taxation at rates slightly heavier than in 1938, and capital items by borrowing at declining rates, with a substantial sinking fund. It includes "public business investment . . . in all monopolies so complete that they are taken over for administration by public corporations," regulation of private business investment through a National Investment Board, some subsidies to consumer goods, and a series of specific public measures including social security, national health service, nutrition "to insure to every person in the community a supply of essential foods suited to his special needs," fuel and other necessaries "by guaranteeing a market and a price" through a public coal-marketing corporation, education, town and country planning, housing, and transport. These measures in the field of assured demand, plus controlled location of industry and organized mobility of labor, make up his specific post-war program.

Conservatives will not like Beveridge's book. Men of faint heart who want full employment to mean five million unemployed will not like his definition of full employment—that there must be more jobs waiting to be filled than there are unemployed men looking for jobs. Industrialists who feel that complete dependence on private enterprise with abandonment of all public efforts to support collective bargaining or to distribute income more widely is the sure way to better times will not like his steady insistence on measures to increase the purchasing power of the masses. Nor will they like his frank willingness to extend the area of public ownership and operation. Those brought up on the old doctrine

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of budget balancing will condemn his willingness to employ the unbalanced budget whenever circumstances demand. But all those who approach the economic problems of today with an open mind and a willingness to hear both sides of the argument will find this a challenging and a stimulating work. Though frankly written for England, it recognizes the somewhat different problems of the United States as well. It probes the problem more deeply than our students have done for us. All who are trying to invent social devices to guide our course in the future, such as the Murray bill, and all who honestly criticize or challenge such devices should give it their careful and thoughtful attention. In Beveridge's concluding words, "The British people can win full employment while remaining free, but they have to win it, not wait for it. Full employment, like social security, must be won by a democracy. It cannot be forced on a democracy or given to a democracy. . . . It is something that the British democracy should direct its government to secure at all costs save the surrender of the essential liberties. . . . If full employment is not won and kept, no liberties are secure, for to many they will not seem worth while."

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

THE MOST CURIOUS THING my eye has caught in *The Nation* lately," writes an old friend and critic in Great Britain, "is M. M.'s paragraph about her dislike of Sunday. For my part I can't begin to understand it; nor, I think, have I ever known a person—man, woman, or child, in England or America—who did not rejoice over the day. Even in my boyhood, living in a puritanical London household, attending church twice, and Bible class, I always found Sunday the best day of the week; and at all stages since it has been so, as a rule with an underlying sense of thanks and well-being. . . . I should guess that among readers of *The Nation* there are almost none to agree with M. M."

As a matter of fact a *Nation* reader or two wrote in to protest. They thought I was attacking religion. But most of the readers who took any notice of my remarks shared my feeling. I'd say that in general it's one of those private feelings which one doesn't bother to mention first. Still I know of at least one man who found a London Sunday, a rainy Sunday, to be sure, less than bearable, and said so. De Quincey first took opium on that day. "It was Sunday afternoon, wet and cheerless; and a duller spectacle this earth of ours has not to show than a rainy Sunday in London."

I RECENTLY PICKED UP the biography of Mentor Graham, "the man who taught Lincoln," which was published some time ago by the University of Chicago Press ($3.75). It was written by Kunigunde Duncan and D. F. Nichols, who traveled 7,000 miles in three states in their search for material about the man whose name, Mentor, was so appropriate to his calling. (He had a sister named Minerva.) The authors' long and loving account of Graham's forbears, his early life and family affairs, will be of interest to few but his descendants and their relatives. The essential story—that of his asso-

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ciation with Lincoln—could be contained in a very small book if not an extended essay. But that essential story and the figure of Mentor Graham, the schoolteacher in the wilderness, are extremely interesting. Mentor Graham, whose passion for learning, for teaching, and for discussion often annoyed his wife and puzzled his fellow-pioneers, met Lincoln in 1831. Lincoln, then twenty-two, said he had a notion to study grammar, and the fat was in the fire. He walked six miles to get the other copy of Kirkham's grammar that Graham knew about. In 1833 Lincoln moved into the Graham household. According to his biographers, Graham by that time had collected a remarkably complete library. It included originals and translations of the classics, histories of America, Europe, and the Orient, volumes of biography, poetry and prose, philosophy, books on chemistry, botany, algebra. Lincoln read, and the two of them talked in sessions that went on into the small hours night after night, while Mrs. Graham complained. They borrowed books and took turns reading aloud. Graham, having found the ideal pupil, rode him hard. He made him give reports, written and oral, of what he had read. He made him "parse every word" of Paine's "Age of Reason" for instance, and examine its logic just as minutely. He trained him in public speaking. Graham and Lincoln not only read "great books." They had endless discussions of the issues of the day; and there was a debating society in New Salem.

It would be fascinating to have a complete list of the books in Mentor Graham's library. But even without such a list, it is obvious that Lincoln received, when he was most ready to absorb it, a remarkable education at the hands of a tireless tutor.

The tutor had his reward. He sat on the platform when his prize pupil was inaugurated President of the United States. He must have been, in a way, chief mourner when the man to whom he had given so much of himself was assassinated.

We tend to forget that many pioneers carried, along with their household goods, a live coal of the culture they left behind. They named their children Mentor and Minerva. They held out for grammar and Latin against terrific odds, and often passed on a tradition of respect for learning, an interest in ideas, which they themselves had not the time or opportunity to implement; except in practical and political affairs, of course, where many an old idea was taken for new. Lincoln, the statesman, did not spring full-fledged from a split rail. He had been, among other things, the student of Mentor Graham, one of the more conscious carriers of the heritage of human thought.

I SUPPOSE it was because I had just read a review of William H. Beveridge's "Full Employment" that I was so struck by an advertisement for "idle diamonds." It's a nice phrase. A diamond which is busy in industry cutting glass or doing whatever else diamonds do may be said to be fully employed. But what about the diamonds in earrings, necklaces, clips, and bracelets? Are they idle or busy? The answer is obvious. They are the hardest-working diamonds of all. They are not only taking care of vast quantities of that excess purchasing power I hear so much about. They are also among the most reliable known generators of social security.

BRIEFER COMMENT

The Widow

IN 1934 AN EPIDEMIC of newspaper stories made the average American familiar with at least the name of the Black Widow spider. A hairless, shiny black creature with a body about the size of a pea and a red hour-glass-shaped spot on the under side, it is far less dangerous looking than the common wolf spider, to say nothing of such monsters as the so-called tarantulas which occasionally emerge from bunches of bananas. But for once it is almost as dangerous as people commonly suppose almost any snake or spider to be. Whereas neither the banana spider nor, so far as is known, any native American spider except the Widow is capable of causing more than local discomfort, she—and it really is only the female who is dangerous—can cause agonizing pain lasting for days, and sometimes death.

"Black Widow" by Raymond W. Thorp and Weldon D. Woodson, two amateur but apparently competent and informed investigators (Chapel Hill, $3), includes a certain amount of picturesque spider lore but is chiefly devoted to a summary of the scientific and clinical data available concerning the Widow, her habits, and the effects of her bite. Certainly spider poisoning is not one of the major threats to life in America, but cases are common enough to make the subject a serious one, and the creature is known in each of the forty-eight states. Serum treatment is not conspicuously successful, and the tourniquet is useless even if applied immediately following the bite. The most successful treatment includes the production of a copious sweat, and if, as the writers speculate, it was really a spider of this genus rather than a tarantula which was responsible for the dancing cure of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, then that cure may have had a rational basis. Black Widows build a messy web, usually in dark corners and frequently under the seats of outdoor privies. No methods of chemical or biological control have so far proved very successful. The advice of the present authors seems to come down to this: if you see a Black Widow, swat it. The present reviewer, most of whose friends regard every milk snake as a copper head and every hog-nosed snake as a cobra, would like to add: make your own life easier by remembering what a Black Widow looks like.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Once More the Balkans

SINCE THE WAR BEGAN several volumes dealing with the Balkans have appeared which seem to confirm the standard opinion that those "eternal European squabbles" which isolationists hold responsible for the world conflagration start in that traditional powder barrel. Disproving this scapegoat theory, Bernard Newman in his latest book, "Balkan Background" (Macmillan, $2.50), stresses that "every one of the Balkan wars was impelled from without, not within." In spite of the author's inclination to whitewash Balkan kings and to find a common denominator for the ethnic medley, his book is an up-to-date, careful study of this intricate problem. There are slight inaccuracies—the Bulgars are unques-

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tionably of Ural-Altaic origin, Transylvania became united with Hungary in 1848 and not in 1868, Papandreou proved no success—but the author hits upon the answer to the Balkan riddle when he points to the economic distress of the peasantry, to the barren soil from which they must derive support, and to the minority problem which results in ethnic clashes because nationalism, having begun much later than in Western Europe, is more passionate.

The remedies suggested by the author are obviously sound. Agrarian reform, mechanized agriculture, special education coupled with industrialization must be undertaken in order to alleviate the misery; a Balkan or a Central European federation based on "some kind of declaration of the rights of man" would not only eliminate racial feuds but deter aggressors and prevent the use of the little states as puppets of the great powers. It is true that Russia has been unfavorable to federal schemes, but recently it appears that this opposition is directed only against "premature and artificial linking of small countries." Russia certainly cannot tolerate a *cordon sanitaire* on its western frontier, but the author's argument seems to be irrefutable: no Central European federation is conceivable without Czechoslovakia, and no federation which included that republic could ever be directed against Russia. In discussing the six Balkan countries—of which Rumania is indeed geographically no part—Mr. Newman gives a succinct but scholarly account of their history and of their political and economic structure. Since he draws upon his personal experience as well as his studies, his book is pleasant reading. Its lesson is the old one—either the Balkans must become Europeanized or Europe will become Balkanized.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

China's Future

REALISTIC APPRAISAL of China's potential strength in the post-war world, especially as it affects the security problem in the Far East, is a not unimportant task. In "China Among the Powers" (Harcourt Brace, $2) David Rowe makes clear the obstacles still to be surmounted in the creation of a strong China. Material factors—raw materials, transport, and techniques—are not favorable to rapid industrialization, and the first of these might even set limits to its eventual scope. Emphasis is laid on the equally significant difficulties presented by the social organization of Chinese agriculture and the nature of the ruling bureaucracy. In a noteworthy summary generalization Rowe writes: "To gain such military strength, [China] must raise greatly the level of the physical and technical efficiency of her manpower and increase agricultural production while altering radically the system of distribution of agricultural income. The present agricultural system is the first point of attack for the creation of that technical and economic advance, and that social and political unity, which are so necessary if China is to attain the power to provide for her own security." In the light of this conclusion, it is surprising that the author virtually ignores the gains made in these directions by a new social and political order established during the war for some ninety million people in the North China provinces. The prospect for China's future indicated in this study might be far less dark if the reforms instituted by the Chinese Communists became the accepted pattern for a united China operating on the basis of democratic principles and practice.

T. A. BISSON

Public Debt and Public Policy

BETWEEN THE ALARMISTS who regard the size of the public debt as a national disaster and the sanguine advocates of perpetual deficit financing it is refreshing to find an economist who goes to the heart of the matter: people are worried about government borrowing because it affects the distribution of wealth.

In "The Public Debt" (John Day, $1.75) Professor Withers thoroughly refutes the viewers-with-alarm, taking them up one by one and answering their arguments in specific terms. But he is only a little less impatient with those who regard the debt as unimportant because we owe it to ourselves. As he says, management of the debt may have equally disastrous results if it leads to pronounced inflation or deflation.

Even if the debt is stabilized, the collection of taxes from one income group to pay interest to another group which owns most of the bonds affects not only the distribution of current income but also the pattern of consumer spending. The consequences of a $300 billion debt would be negligible only if taxes were collected in exact proportion to individuals' and corporations' bond holdings.

Management of the public debt is therefore a basic instrument of public policy. Some general knowledge of government finance has become essential to a healthy democracy, and

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it is unfortunate that not only the public but also the leaders of public opinion are so woefully ignorant of the subject. Professor Withers has condensed it into 109 pages, which cover the ground more thoroughly than most full-length textbooks.

The first chapter is marred by a few rather hasty generalizations such as, "War unavoidably increases the political powers of business men because military mechanisms are dependent upon the factories that they manage." Dealing with his main subject, the author is much more objective; the book is a real contribution to intelligent citizenship, and it is written for the intelligent citizen. CHARLES E. NOYES

Steig's Cartoons

THE MATING of drawing with caption has produced a new but very dependent and transitory pictorial genre. The future will be more informed than delighted by it. We can still relish the brush-drawing on a Greek vase for its own sake as a drawing—whether fitted happily or unhappily to the shape of the vessel. But to appreciate William Steig's cartoons you have to get their point, and to get their point you have to be intimately acquainted with the contemporary American literate middle classes. And yet in spite of all this, Steig's cartoons push and strain against the social and psychological limitations of the cartoon form, and strive to become self-sufficient, time-transcending art. The quasi-abstract drawings in "All Embarrassed" (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, $2) are, though not necessarily the best, those which most visibly embody Steig's aesthetic yearning. A good deal of automatism has gone into them as well as a full acquaintance with Klee, Picasso, and particularly Miró, yet they do not manage to escape the neatness and the formularization of the cartoon—nor will they until Steig forces himself to leave his forms more open and to take into greater account the shape of the page. It is no accident that the cartoon called Organism and Environment is the best in the book as a matter of drawing and picture composition.

Once in a while Steig's wit makes all the above irrelevant. I submit the cartoons called The Conversation Lags I, Misunderstanding, and Intrusion. If, however, Steig were somewhat more susceptible himself to those dangers of middle-class existence he too triumphantly points out, he would score much more frequently.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

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Films

JAMES AGEE

"BETRAYAL FROM THE EAST," a spy melodrama about an ex-soldier who pretends to get for Japanese agents the plans for the defense of the Panama Canal, is supposed to be a true story. I am perfectly willing to believe it is, but my willingness is seldom encouraged by the way it is presented on the screen. If two Japanese spies employed in an American newspaper office in Tokyo are settling down to their daily eavesdropping, surely they don't bother to exchange a glance of villainous complicity. If an experienced reporter has to try to get back alive to the States with some mortally red-hot information, surely the idea of memorizing it doesn't elude his intelligence for a couple of hundred feet or, when at last he thinks of it, strike him as remarkably brilliant or brand-new. If two Army Intelligence agents meet in a hotel room to feed false dialogue to a planted enemy dictaphone, surely, once they are dead certain that no hidden camera or slanteye is trained on them, they stop trying to suit their actions to their words. If still another agent is being steamed to death in her Nazi ex-lover's beauty parlor, surely she would take prompt care, on principle or by instinct if for no better use, to get next the floor, where breathing lasts longest and the heat is least oppressive. If such minor oversights were rectified in advance of release, stories much less plausible than this one could be made to seem true, and even interesting. There is, on the other hand, no sort of harm in the movie, and it is a pleasure to see Lee Tracy again, and Nancy Kelly's famous shoulders. I may be presumptuous with that adjective, but they have always been famous with me.

"Bring on the Girls" is a hard-polished color musical about a susceptible millionaire (Eddie Bracken), his bodyguard (Sonny Tufts), and a predatory woman (Veronica Lake). It isn't much, I suppose; but I enjoyed a skit by a couple of subhuman quacks (Porter Hall and another very good, familiar face whose name I can't remember); Eddie Bracken is so likable, and knows his work so well, that he can't even walk out on a diving-board without getting sympathy and a laugh; and Sonny Tufts sings well. I have an idea he could become almost as good as Crosby, on almost as broad a range.

"Pan-Americana" is another of those buckets of good-swill that make me wish some Latin American movie people would come north, for a change, and take fair vengeance on the United States; a job at which I would be only too happy to help out. In some other respects, however, I rather liked the picture. There is a general air of casual lousiness about it—the aching dreariness of the climactic stage tableaux for instance—which seems very friendly and fresh compared with the high-finished pink granite gravestones which are normally released as musical comedies. The song-and-dance numbers are mainly poor, but with the fierce unembalmed poorness of the real thing, as you see it in night clubs. The love story is a classically heartless record—set up as merely cute—of fifth-rate conduct between a professional seducer and an even less scrupulous nice girl; but some of it is written and directed, and is played by Philip Terry and Audrey Long, as if such a relationship were worth honest observation, as indeed it is.

Drama Note

"THE STRANGER" (Playhouse) is another mystery-horror play with a Victorian scene. Without being exactly first rate it has its points, of which one is a good gas-lit atmosphere and a collection of amusing caricatures, all of which are vivaciously enacted with broad effectiveness by an excellent cast. The scene is a dismal workingmen's club in Whitechapel, and the excitement is contributed by the Jack the Ripper who is busy slitting throats just off stage. There is rather more amusement than terror to be got out of the affair, and this suits me well enough. I did, however, object somewhat to the casual way in which the misleading clues were brushed aside. The procedure is a bit too suggestive of the Oh-that-was-just-put-in-to-make-it-harder explanation.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

COLUMBIA has made its first two releases of the symphonic recordings that have been made since the end of the Petrillo ban. It has issued a set (558; $5.50) of Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 6 ("Pathétique") performed by Rodzinski with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra; and another (557; $5.50) of Beethoven's Seventh performed by Ormandy with the Philadelphia Orchestra.

Beginning with the "Pathétique," I was glad to hear the natural sound of an orchestra, clear and bright, instead of the muffled, hollow, distorted sound from Columbia's pre-Petrillo-ban recordings of the New York Philharmonic. This was true of the first side, and the second, so that I was unprepared for the dull, unclear sound from the third side, after which brightness and clarity returned with the fourth. The variation in quality continued: in the second movement, for example, the passage at the beginning of the sixth side had a brillance which it had not had at its previous appearance on the fifth. In addition there was another defect, of which some of the worst examples occurred at the very beginning: in relation to the *pp* of the string basses the *pp* of the solo bassoon was much too loud (it was not even *p* but *f*), and the crescendo of the strings too great; a moment later, in relation to the *pp* of the solo horn the *p* of the woodwinds was too loud; and throughout there were other instances of such alteration of the relative degrees of loudness prescribed by Tchaikovsky in his score. Some of them, I suspect, were caused by the way the performance was recorded (microphone placement, etc.); but things like that excessive crescendo of the strings were in the performance which the recording picked up. For it is a performance with violences and crudenesses, large and small, which are characteristic of Rodzinski and also part of the traditional way of misperforming Tchaikovsky. The Ormandy and Furtwängler performances are better, and are better recorded.

As for Beethoven's Seventh, Ormandy seems to have listened to the tempos of Toscanini's recorded performance and to have agreed with them—all of them, including not only the somewhat faster-than-usual tempo of the *Allegretto* but the much faster tempo of the trio of the scherzo movement that has bothered some listeners. If this conveys the impression that Ormandy has tried to produce an exact copy of Toscanini's performance, let me hasten to correct it—to point out, for example, that Ormandy follows his own practice of announcing things with preparatory retardations and pauses which are not to be heard in Toscanini's performance. And that is one reason for the important thing—which is that Ormandy does not give the movements the organic coherence and sustained intensity that Toscanini does. Nor is the inferior performance to be

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preferred because of superior recording: the loud passages of Ormandy's performance are reproduced with a coarseness and stridency that one doesn't get from the loudest climaxes of the Toscanini recording, or from the couple of Victor recordings of the Philadelphia Orchestra in my possession. I should mention also that side two of the first movement is tremendously louder than sides one and three; side five of the second movement is louder than four and six; and side eight of the third movement is louder than seven (but the extremes of loud and soft are troublesome in the Toscanini recording); and that my review copy has some sides with noises and swishes.

All that Victor has issued is a new picture album (979; $5.50) in which it has assembled a number of Melchior's previously issued Wagner recordings. They include the second-act duet from "Tristan und Isolde" with Flagstad, and the Forging Song from "Siegfried," which is one of the engaging moments of the "Ring"; and these are all that I care to hear; but for those who want them there are also Lohengrin's Narrative, the Hymn to Venus and the Rome Narrative from "Tannhäuser," and the Steersman's Song from "The Flying Dutchman."

CONTRIBUTORS

PAUL MALLES was for several years a correspondent in Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe for the Stockholm *Social Demokraten* (now the *Morgontidningen*). He is now doing war work in Canada.

MARVIN LOWENTHAL is the author of "Henrietta Szold: Life and Letters," "The Jews of Germany," and "A World Passed By," dealing with Jewish culture in Europe and North Africa.

JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI is executive secretary of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. He was formerly principal of the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee.

IRVING LIPKOWITZ is an economist with the Department of Justice. The views expressed in his article are his own and do not reflect official government policy.

JOHN W. WHITE has represented American newspapers in Santiago, Chile, for many years and recently concluded a trip through South America.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

G. B. Shaw's Vinegar Method

Dear Sirs: The extermination of flies and fascists raises the age-old question of honey vs. vinegar. The Pétains, Darlans, Badoglios, and Greek Monarchists derived much-needed strength from lapping up tons of honey supplied by the British and American governments. And those fascists that have been destroyed got hold of some strong vinegar. When in power, fascists themselves are never bothered by this problem; they invariably mix a hellish, poisonous brew for their natural enemies: laborites, liberals, anti-fascist churchmen, members of minority groups, and other decent people.

George Bernard Shaw, who used vinegar against Victorianism with such success, is the greatest living exponent of the vinegar method of dealing with vermin. He has given labor movements in Allied countries a prescription for a powerful germicide which, if used, would help keep world fascists under control.

Shaw's prescription is set forth on page 59 of "What I Really Wrote About the War," addressed to British labor during World War I. It is applicable to world labor now:

> The Labor Party, then, need have no hesitation in raising all the standing controversies between democracy and Junkerism in their acutest form, and taking advantage of the war emergency to press them to a series of parliamentary victories for Labor, whether in negotiations with the government whips, in divisions on the floor of the House, or in strenuously contested by-elections. No doubt our Junkers will try to disarm their opponents by representing that it would be in the last degree unfair, un-English, and ungentlemanly on the part of the Labor members to seize any tactical advantage in parliamentary warfare, and most treacherous and unpatriotic to attack their country (meaning the Junker Party) when it is at war. Some Labor members will be easily enough gulled in this way: it would be laughable, if the consequences were not so tragic, to see how our parliamentary beginners from the working class succumb to the charm of the Junker appeal. The Junkers themselves are not to be coaxed in this manner. . . . The Labor Party will soon learn the value of these polite demonstrations that it is always its duty not to hamper the governing classes in their very difficult and delicate and dangerous task of safeguarding the interests of this great empire; in short, to let itself be gammoned by elegant phrases and by adroit practicings on its personal good nature, its inveterate proletarian sentimentality, and its secret misgivings as to the correctness of its manners. The Junkers have already taken the fullest advantage of the war to paralyze democracy. If the Labor members do not take a vigorous counter-offensive, and fight every parliamentary trench to the last division, the labor movement will be rushed back as precipitately as General von Kluck rushed the Allies back from Namur to the gates of Paris. In truth, the importance of the war to the immense majority of Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Germans lies in the possibility that when Junkers fall out common men may come by their own.

Applied to the current situation, Shaw's formula tells us to look to the American State Department; to cut off the supply of honey going from America to Europe's quislings; to make an end to cartels; to intensify labor's political activity; to encourage government ownership of industry; to obtain a voice for labor at the peace table; to make labor a partner in the management of American industry. He challenges the British labor movement to work for internal reforms; to set India free; to support forces of democracy in Italy, Greece, France, Belgium and Spain. And to all the unclean-handed ones who decry using the war emergency to accomplish social reforms he says "phooey." WALTER WILSON

East Chatham, N. Y., January 15

Federal Aid for Education

Dear Sirs: Everyone who accepts the American principle of opportunity should give support to the bill for $300,000,000 of federal funds for education to be expended under control of the states. The bill provides that part of the funds must be spent specifically to raise the salaries of teachers. Their salaries have not been raised either in proportion to the increase in the cost of living or to the increase in the total pay including overtime of workers in war industries. Unless teachers receive increased pay, many will leave their professions and thousands of schools in rural and low-income areas will be forced to close; classes will be so overcrowded that the quality of education will suffer seriously.

Part of the federal funds is to be used to raise the educational level in states where educational facilities are now poorest. At present states with the lowest per capita income have the greatest educational burden but the least ability to carry that burden. "The kids are where the cash ain't," as one homespun philosopher put it; and this bill is necessary to help equalize educational opportunities throughout the nation.

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Because policies determined in Washington more and more affect the lives of all of us, and because ignorance tends to be represented by ignorance, it is to the interest of American citizens anywhere to see that American citizens everywhere get a good education.

Write to your Senators and Congressmen to support S. 181, the Hill-Thomas Bill for Federal Aid to Education.

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

New York, February 9

For the Tens

Dear Sirs: We are studying race discrimination. We are studying it all year. It is interesting but terrible to find out what hardships the Negroes, Jews, and other minorities are going through. We got very much concerned when a Negro boy went to one of the boys' houses who is in our group. The elevator man made him walk up the back stairs. The white boy felt very bad. So he started a club called the A. L. C. O., which means Abraham Lincoln Carries On. We would appreciate it if you would print this in your paper to help us in the fight. GEOFFREY BROTHERS,

For the 10's, Little Red School House

New York, February 14

In Memoriam

Dear Sirs: Lieutenant Lowell Bready, formerly a reporter on a morning paper in Santa Cruz, California, was killed in action at Cherbourg on June 25, 1944. He had saved enough money for a down payment on a newspaper, and, in the midst of war, he had written the introductory announcement for his post-war venture.

Here is what he intended to announce to the people of a community in western America:

My friend, a newspaper photographer, warned me that one cannot earn a living running an honest newspaper today.

He said that perhaps an editor in an American community could condemn Nazi tactics in Europe, but that he must not be too critical of undemocratic tendencies in his home town.

He meant an editor can defend the right of workmen to strike against Little Steel in the Middle West, but cannot risk his investment when there's a strike in the biggest industry in his home town.

He meant that the right people can kill stories. He meant that you can't be honest all the time on any newspaper today because honesty doesn't pay.

Perhaps he is right. Maybe honesty hasn't paid because too few men have had the courage to try to make it pay.

What does it mean if an editor doesn't tell the truth when there is a labor dispute in his home town? It means everything. His failure is the world's failure to tell the truth. His failure means that for a larger income, for fortifying his investment, he is willing to give up voluntarily the same thing France, Greece, Norway, and others, lost and must now spill blood to regain—freedom of expression, honesty of expression.

I could have said this whole thing in a few words. More and more editors must prove that the photographer was wrong. I wanted to be one of the editors who help to prove it. I'm here to help prove it in this corner of America.

The (*name of newspaper*) will play ball in building this community in every aboveboard way it can. It will play ball in giving you the best all-around newspaper it can turn out. It will play ball in getting everything for you and me that we want and deserve in the way of a better life. But if someone should try to pressure us into taking what we believe is the wrong side of any question; if someone should try to pressure us into hushing any important information—then, right then, we will be through playing ball.

SUTTON CHRISTIAN

Somewhere in Asia, December 13

Watch the Pope!

Dear Sirs: In reading Gaetano Salvemini's informative and interesting article, No Vatican Plan for Italy? it occurs to me that we are paying too little attention to the dangerous role played by the Vatican today and in the years preceding fascism's rise to power.

It is unfortunate that in our plans to punish those guilty of supporting and spreading the terror across Europe and the Americas we have not included certain pro-Axis Jesuits among the criminals. The Vatican has only been interested in saving its own political and religious power at the expense of so-called democratic countries overrun by the fascist advance. The Vatican has never been anything but pro-Axis from the start, and all of us, civilian and military, should govern our actions and opinions accordingly. If we do not, like the pre-Hitler Germans, we may find that we have traded our plowshares for blackjacks. SERVICE MAN

February 15

I Bin Thinking . . .

Dear Sirs: I bin thinking. In all maps use 30 miles to the inch on the western front and 100 miles to the inch on the eastern front—it will keep up the morale.

American generals rely on steady pressure, Russian generals rely on quick, heavy punches, and English generals on afternoon tea.

The Germans have won the war four and a half times already, and after three more of those supreme victories they hope for a draw. We will soon eliminate the Nazis. Of course as they are the only ones available with experience we will also put them in charge in Germany. Why not reward Hitler, Himmler and Co. with fine incomes, residences in Berlin, and of course, with guards. Germans could not then make martyrs out of them as they will if we obliterate the gang. This may be hard on the "haters," but it is a good way to kill Nazism. JOHN BUCHANAN

Berwick, Nova Scotia, February 9

Cummington Pays Its Way

Dear Sirs: We have received copies of F. W. Dupee's review of recent poetry from your issue of February 10, and thank you for them.

We're glad Mr. Dupee liked Robert Lowell's poems, but sorry for a misstatement in the article's first sentence: we are not subsidized and, on the contrary, are trying rather desperately hard to make a living on the sale of our books. Most of these are printed here, another way in which we are unlike New Directions. HARRY DUNCAN,

Manager, the Cummington Press

Cummington, Mass., February 8

Clothes for Liberated Peoples

Dear Sirs: The need for clothing in the recently liberated countries of Europe is very great. Our first appeal for clothing met with the most generous response; we have already shipped several thousand pounds of warm clothes to France and Italy. Yet the need is so acute that we must appeal once more to our friends to send us any additional garments that can be spared. We are glad to receive all packages by Railway Express collect at our warehouse, 103 Orchard Street, New York 2, N. Y.

SHEBA STRUNSKY,

Executive Secretary International Rescue and Relief Committee

New York, January 31

Warning

Dear Sirs: Your paragraph on cooperatives in the issue of December 23 is in an optimistic vein, but ominous

"HEAVEN AND HELL"

The most definite teaching on the certainty of immortality and on the life hereafter is to be found in the Writings of

EMANUEL SWEDENBORG

famed scientist, philosopher, theologian and statesman. His book on HEAVEN AND HELL, FROM THINGS HEARD AND SEEN, may be obtained by new readers at the introductory price of five cents.

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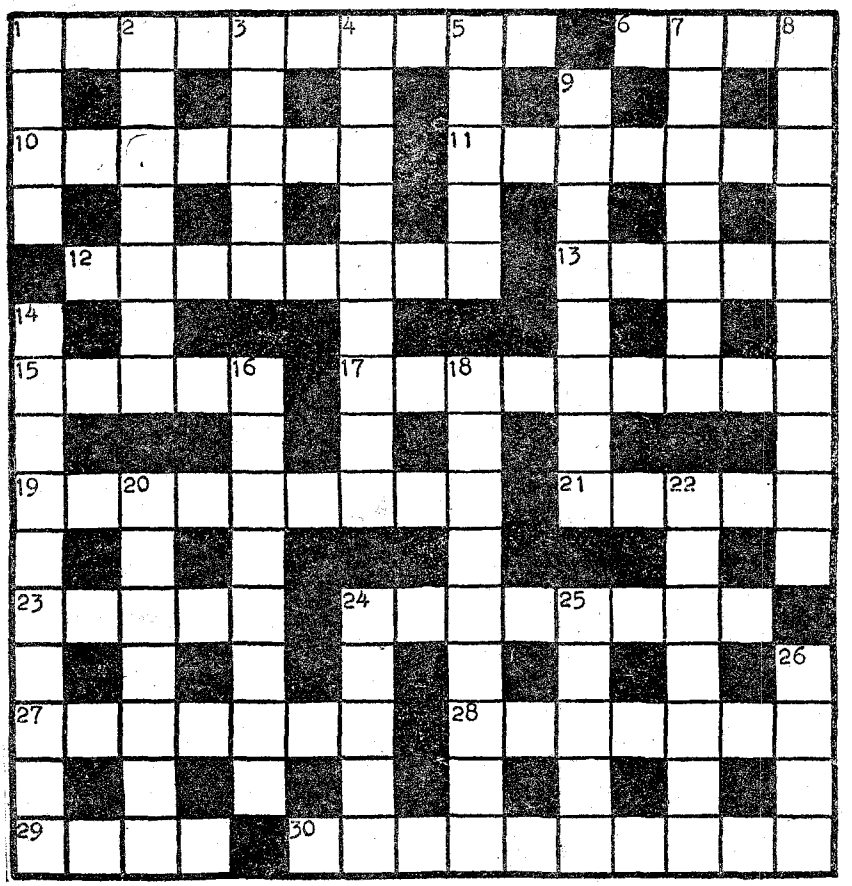
Crossword Puzzle No. 105

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Men are most apt to believe what they least ----------, thought Montaigne
6 No wonder there's a shout when it's a hundred all!
10 An error in taste is almost bad for me (two words, 3 and 4)
11 Sic ------- gloria mundi
12 Stuff non-inflammable bricks are made of
13 Elgar, large, glare and lager are its anagrams
15 Trimmed
17 The works
19 Of especial interest to those contemplating marriage (two words, 4 & 5)
21 There are trees and a steer in the compound
23 English county, in short, where opals are found in confusion (not profusion)
24 Slow and laborious
27 Silvery inside covers?
28 I've coin, as the price list shows
29 "The extravagant and erring spirit ---- To his confine" (*Hamlet*)
30 Far short of being one of the herbalist's sovereign remedies

DOWN

1 The boss on the shield
2 What Dawkins, in *Oliver Twist*, reduced to an art
3 Only river of Europe in which a heron may be seen
4 Usually attached to an ultimatum (two words, 4 and 5)
5 Spruce
7 Getting the point of one is no joke in Zululand
8 Barrie interior (two words, 6 and 4)
9 Dorothy Sayers called it the graveyard of good cooks
14 He resolved to live to be a thousand, or die in the attempt
16 These domestic articles are of little use without brushes
18 He cheerfully takes over the cares of others
20 A medley started by me
22 Halloo! Tally ho! Yoicks! and another hunting cry
24 Out of date, or nearly so
25 A plunger, but not on the Stock Market
26 Certain place which it is impolite to mention here

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 104

ACROSS:—1 MICROBE; 5 DICKENS; 9 SOLVE; 10 POETASTER; 11 ALIGNMENT; 12 OSAKA; 13 DAISIES; 15 STOPPLE; 17 CANAPES; 19 BISECTS; 21 SEWER; 23 OFFENBACH; 25 ELEMENTAL; 26 GLAIR; 27 SCENTED; 28 SHRIKES.

DOWN:—1 MUSTARD; 2 COLLISION; 3 OCEAN; 4 EXPRESS; 5 DUETTOS; 6 CLAMOROUS; 7 EXTRA; 8 SURNAME; 14 IMPERFECT; 16 PICKABACK; 17 COSTER'S; 18 SPOTTED; 19 BAFFLES; 20 SPHERES; 22 WHERE; 24 NIGER.

clouds are gathering on the horizon. Big business in Canada has forced the appointment of a royal commission to give the cooperatives in Canada a good dragooning. Big business up here is thoroughly alarmed and aroused. This commission business is not a reconnaissance; it is an all-out assault designed to cripple the cooperatives for the next fifty years. If they succeed up here it will galvanize the enemies of co-ops in the United States to deadly emulation. So while we mount the barricades, keep your own powder dry. *The Nation* should sound the tocsin in the United States. There will be dirty work in the clinches.

OWEN O'CLOUTARD

Moncton, N. B., Canada, December 30

"Our Lives Are Gray . . ."

Dear Sirs: Will *The Nation* raise its tempered and ringing liberal voice in behalf of the unglamorous prison officer in uniform? We say unglamorous, because the press and radio have done so much to enhance the values of our social cousins, the members of the police and the FBI.

We too get killed; we too get maimed. Nobody sings hosannas, nobody gives us medals, and yet life-insurance rates on us are higher than on the police. We are trying to get out of the Middle Ages. Our lives are gray, grim, and colorless, hopeless, baffled as are those of the unfortunates in our charge. Prison officers in general are a seedy lot, in home life, clothing, spirit. We are the conscience of society, and therefore society turns its back on us. There is something unsavory about us, and our work, and yet it is a necessary work.

A bill to give us a pay boost is scheduled to be introduced in the New York legislature. Such has not been done for many a year.

We ask the editorial support of the great and liberal *Nation*. Many reading what you have to say may come forward to help us get our bill passed. The offender, too, will benefit. Nobody knows better than the prison officer the sham and the shame in which the inmates live; how false are our rehabilitative statistics; how lying our rehabilitative departments. We are hopeful that a better-paid prison job will attract to the profession a better-prepared prison officer. The unfortunate offender will benefit as well.

DANIEL A. HARVEY, President,
Uniformed Prison Officers Association

Ossining, N. Y., December 30

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